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Harvard College Library



FROM THE BRIGHT LEGACY

One half the income from this Legacy, which was received in 1880 under the will of

JONATHAN BROWN BRIGHT

of Waltham, Massachusetts, is to be expended for books for the College Library. The other half of the income is devoted to scholarships in Harvard University for the benefit of descendants of

HENRY BRIGHT, JR.,

who died at Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1686. In the absence of such descendants, other persons are eligible to the scholarships. The will requires that this announcement shall be made in every book added to the Library under its provisions.



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With the Compliments of the Author.

A NARRATIVE

— OF THE —

Life, Experience and Work
of an American Citizen,

— BY —

GEORGE HASKELL.

Printed for the Author.

IPSWICH, MASS.:
CHRONICLE PUBLISHING COMPANY.
1896.

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A NARRATIVE.

August 24, 1895. I have today completed 86 years of my life, and this is its history.

I was born in Newburyport, August 24, 1809. My father was also born in that town. He was the son of Dea. Nehemiah Haskell who removed to that town in early life. My mother was Eunice Dodge, daughter of Barnabas Dodge, an eminent surveyor, who was employed by the state in the latter part of the last century to run out the township lines in the District of Maine. My grandfather Haskell was born in Gloucester, within a mile of the Ipswich boundry line. My grandfather Dodge and both my grandmothers, Elizabeth Fitts and Elizabeth Giddings were natives of Ipswich, and descendents of its early families.

At an early age I was sent to the private School of Miss Chase in Milk street. All that I remember of the school is—that the scholars were sent to pick up the apples that fell from the trees in her garden, on the day of the Great September gale 1815 and that I was sent home before noon in the care of an older scholar. A few years later I was sent to the public school at the south end of the Mall. I remained in the school until my parents removed to Ipswich when I was ten years old. My father died soon after this removal. In Ipswich I was sent to the Feoffees Gram-

mar School (Latin and Greek) then taught by George Choate, afterwards the eminent physician in Salem. I attended this school under different teachers six years.

In January, 1825, I went to Boston as apprentice to Smith & Dyer, dealers in fancy goods and manufacturers of fancy morocco work, at No. 2 Milk street. The business included the manufacture of many various articles, such as work-boxes, dressing cases, portfolios, reticules, pocket books, etc, etc. It was then very profitable, there being no other establishment of the kind in this part of the country.

I remained in that position till April, 1827, when a difference with Mr. Dyer led me to leave. That difference was only a question whether my conduct on a certain occasion had given him a right to insist upon an apology from me, which I would not admit, and therefor refused to make and I left them in April, 1827.

Very little in the experience and conduct of a lad in Boston during two years of his life, when from fifteen to seventeen years of age can be of interest to the general reader; and yet my tastes and inclinations which controlled me then indicated that mental and moral tone which have marked my individuality, in my opinions and conduct, during my whole life.

During my residence in Boston I lived in the family of my employer in Purchase street, on Fort Hill. The times for meals, sleep and labor, were observed with great regularity. Labor for my employers ended at 8 P. M. The establishment was closed at ten. Over-work by the hour or piece-work was given to those who desired it for those two hours, and I seldom missed an hour in doing it.

I thus earned enough to pay for my clothes, and to make occasional remittances to my mother for the maintenance of her children.

It was an attempt to cut down the price of such over-work that led to my difference with Mr. Dyer and caused me to leave.

I attended few shows or exhibitions, and never entered a theatre, although my employers offered me tickets every winter to see the play of George Barnwell for the moral lesson it was supposed to convey. In the autumn of 1826 an incident occurred which I have often since thought might have turned the course of my life into a channel very different from that through which it has drifted. The house in which Mr. Dyer lived was owned by an old gentleman who, with his daughter, about my age, boarded in the family.

The father wished his daughter to attend a fashionable dancing school in Winter street, and he told me that if I would accompany her as escort he would pay my instruction and for a hack when the weather was stormy or the walking bad. I declined the offer not from any dislike of the girl, though nowise partial to her, but because of the loss of my time and cost of new clothes I would have to procure; but more because of my bashfulness—an absolute dread I felt to meet and mingle in such a gay and giddy throng. Had I accepted that offer, it is most probable that I should not have followed or enjoyed the quiet and retired life of a recluse.

I observed the Sabbath in the old New England manner, by going to church twice each Sabbath. There were able and interesting preachers in the different denominations; and their different doctrines, and their different ways of treating a subject kept me on the lookout for something new if not surprising; and I never left a church without having learned something new or having obtained some new food for thought.

Dr. Lyman Beecher preached in Hanover street. In the

course of his sermon he often lifted his spectacles from his nose to his forehead. This was a notice that some unwritten remarks were coming, and they were always very instructive, interesting and witty, and sometimes humorous and laughter-exciting, so much so as to be quite a feature of the service there. Henry Ware also preached in Hanover street. There was always good music in the service here. Charlotte Cushman sang in the choir. She had not then gone on the stage.

I heard Orville Dewey and Mr. Palfres in the church in Brattle street occasionally.

Mr. Ballou preached in School street. He was a very interesting preacher—plain and blunt in his sermon—sometimes almost irreverent in language.

Dr. Wisner preached in the Old South. I did not attend service there often, for although he was doubtless a good and able man he was not an agreeable speaker. My position in business being directly in front of this church I was led to regard it with interest and veneration; and my feelings have been wounded at its present desecration. I have passed by it many times since 1873, but never without a feeling of regret that the great fire in that year did not wipe it from the face of the earth, and thus save the people of Boston from the reproach of having one of its ancient and sacred temples thus desecrated, under the notion that its preservation in its present condition and use is an honor to them.

Bishop Chevarus preached in Franklin street, in the only Catholic church then in Boston. I attended once. It was difficult to get admittance there was such a crowd, and I stood in the gallery aisle during the whole service.

The Bishop's sermon, (although I do not think he had a text) was a plain and .

and duties of life—very different from the sermon I heard in the Park street church on the previous Sunday, on “original sin”—in which the preacher attempted to prove that

“In Adam’s fall
We Sinned all.”

I was so interested in the solemnity of the ceremonials and enchanting music that I was not conscious of the lapse of time; and when I got home for my dinner, at noon as I thought, I found that it was the middle of the afternoon.

I attended the church at the corner of Summer and Bedford streets in which Mr. Young preached, more often than any other. It was near my home and there was always room. Mr. Young made frequent exchanges, and I heard many prominent preachers. The stranger’s seat was a plain, painted bench against the wall on one side of the gallery aisle, with no rail in front or arm rest, extending the whole length of the church and I do not remember that any other person took a seat upon it at any time that I sat there.

I think my presence there was a puzzle to the wealthy families who occupied the comfortable square pews between the aisle and front of the gallery. And well they might have wondered at it. To see a country lad neatly and plainly clad, not in city fashion, so bashful that if my eye met their glance my cheeks would crimson in an instant—sitting there alone, Sabbath after Sabbath, while there were so many alluring sights and sounds about the city outside. I saw that my presence was often the subject of comment among the occupants of these pews. The gentleman who occupied the pew directly in front of my usual seat, a merchant, formerly a ship master, was very severe and unkind in his looks at me—as if he wanted to say—what are you here for? There was nothing in my countenance to call for this, there

was nothing ugly or vicious in the expression of my face—indeed in the daguerreotypes taken a few years later there is nothing remarkable in my features except an expression of sadness about the mouth which is obscured by the beard of later years.

The ladies of his family, I suppose a wife and daughters, appeared to be as much surprised and looked at me with equal curiosity, but not with aversion, and I believed, often conversed with each other about me. This was a very embarrassing position for me, especially in prayer-time when many turned their faces towards me. I had been taught never to turn my back on the preacher in prayer time, and had to stand up facing them, with no rail in front, no rest for the arms or elbows, and I was sorely perplexed to know what to do with my hands. I had not then learnt to fold them behind on my back. In a few sabbaths I felt more at my ease especially as an old, grey headed gentleman, as he passed me on the way to his pew gave me a half-nod of recognition with old-time courtesy.

Dr. Channing preached in Federal street. I heard him often. One of his sermons I remember very distinctly and fully, after the lapse of nearly seventy years. It was from the text "I say unto you the Kingdom of Heaven is within you." I had been brought up and instructed in the Calvinistic creed, that there was a local heaven for the righteous and a local hell for the wicked. I had never heard that doctrine denied or doubted, and took it for granted that it was true without reflection or reasoning about it. But this sermon, and the calm and persuasive reasoning upon the subject, overthrew that doctrine in one hour.

This sermon did much more than that. It aroused my curiosity in regard to other points in the faith of my parents and led to reflection upon them and to subject them to the

test of reason and the known order of things in creation, and in later life to doubt them, and to doubt the possibility of our knowing the truth of doctrines that are regarded as the foundation of all religious faith.

But this weakening of religious faith did not lessen my sense of the obligations of my duty to follow the advice and observe the injunctions of an intelligent and pious mother which I received on leaving home—"not to go to the theatre, —to avoid bad companions—not to follow bad examples, and to go to church."

I did not see the inside of a theatre during my residence there—did not learn to smoke, drink or play cards, nor would I take any part in the peccadilloes then and now so common in social life; and I left Boston when seventeen years old uncontaminated by its vices and habits.

I soon found employment with Mr. Sykes in Providence, a dealer in fancy goods, with whom I engaged for one year.

In the autumn of that year he removed to Worcester and I went there with him. On the expiration of the year in the spring of 1828 I went to Salem and engaged with Mr. Skerry, also a dealer in fancy goods, with whom I remained until the fall when I went to Cambridgeport and commenced to manufacture on my own account, and continued to do so until June, 1830.

At that time, having accumulated quite a large stock of the nicest goods—real morocco, heavily gilt, satin lined and steel mountings—I went to Cincinnati with a view of establishing their manufacture in that city. In making this selection of goods, however, I had "reckoned without my host," as I was told on all sides, by dealers and public men, that the people there were not ready to encourage the sale or the manufacture of such superfluities, and I left my goods to be sold on the best terms and returned without them by the

lines of public travel. A journey thither and back was then so very different from the present facilities of travel, an account of my journey will be interesting now, and especially so in the future.

The stage for Albany called for me at my home in Boston at two o'clock in the morning, and two other passengers were taken at the stage office, at Earls' tavern in Hanover street, and an hour later two others were taken at Cambridge. These and no others went through to Albany; but there was a frequent reception and exit of passengers along the route. We took breakfast at Northboro, the stage waiting while we ate. The stage also waited while we took dinner at a small hotel some miles west of Worcester, and we arrived in Northampton just before dark and there stopped for the night. At 2 o'clock the next morning we were called up as the "stage was ready" to continue our journey. Chat with the many passengers, who were constantly getting in and leaving, about local objects and topics, relieved the monotony of the tedious ride until we reached the Berkshire hills. Here the stage stopped and all the men got out to walk up the hill for the relief of the horses. On the top of the hill a "shoe" was put under one of the hind wheels to prevent its revolving and acting as a brake by causing it to drag on the ground. The men got in the stage again and we went down the hill fast enough to make up for the time lost in the ascent. We reached Albany on the second day, just before sunset.

At Albany, the next morning, I took the stage for Schenectady, intending there to intercept and take passage on the Canal Packet which left Albany several hours earlier. These Canal Packets were canal boats fitted up for carrying passengers only and which took no freight. There was a cabin for females in the front end and one for males in the rear end with a double tier of berths for sleepers.

small room between these cabins, in which meals were served. They were restricted in speed to four miles an hour, but as they run day and night and made no stops for taking or delivering freight, they made as rapid progress as other modes of public travel, and was much more comfortable, than ride day after day in a stage coach. It was very dull and on arriving at Auburn I left the Packet and took the stage for Rochester, and there I was weary and lame with the jolting of stage travel and I took the Packet again for Buffalo, where I arrived in the middle of the fourth day from Albany.

At Buffalo I immediately took passage on steamboat for Cleveland. The boat was much crowded with passengers not half of whom could have a berth, or a seat, on which to sleep. I arrived at Cleveland in the afternoon of a Friday and found no stage left for Cincinnati, or in that direction, until Sunday morning. Three other young men got off the steamer when I did, all bound south, Mr. Lincoln of Hartford for Cincinnati, and Messrs Blodgett and Chase of Vermont for Kenyon College at Mt. Vernon, Chase being a nephew of Bishop Chase, then President of the College. We had ample time to see, and we did see the town of Cleveland pretty thoroughly. It gave no instance then of the growth and prosperity that has marked its course. There was only one pier on the lake shore, a rickety looking thing on piles at which the steamboat landed. The rest of the shore was a high, steep and broken bank, except a narrow ravine on the west of the town, through which the canal, then just completed at this terminus, entered the lake. West of the canal there was only one building, a paper mill. The hills were covered with trees, and a shute was in operation on which the wood on the hill was slid down for the use of the mill. The people of the town seemed to be awake for busi-

ness, for as we sauntered about the town during our enforced detention, we were asked several times by the men in the stores and places of business, if we wanted a job, or would we like a place, and although we replied in the negative, they would go on extolling the town and its prospects for young men.

At two o'clock Sunday morning we took the stage for Cincinnati. The stage was full, the roads poor and our progress was slow and tedious. We reached Pikeville, where breakfast was provided for passengers, soon after day-break. The tavern was a rudely constructed log house, the floors were made of logs laid close together, the top sides of which had been hewed down so as to make the floor nearly level. Breakfast was served on a table of white boards, but every thing looked very clean, and the provisions were fit for a king; coffee, venison, eggs and a bowl of custard by each plate, excellent bread and buckwheat "Honey-comb" waffles, with the cells filled with fresh butter, were all excellent. The charge for this meal was three bits, (ten cents or ninepence is a bit).

At Medina we lost two of our company, who had returned to this place from a visit to their old home in Connecticut. The settlements were small and widely scattered, and no way-passengers were taken, and the ride was tedious. There was nothing to make the journey interesting not even in the natural scenery, although some of the forests through which we passed were grand in their magnitude and denseness. Through one of these south of Worcester, the carriage way was made by cutting the trees so near to the ground, that the carriage axeltrees would pass over the stumps, and the horses were so harnessed as to travel in the ruts, and thus the carriage and horses straddled the stumps. The night was spent

left our companions from Vermont, (Chase and Blodgett) who were to enter Kenyon College. They had traveled with me from Buffalo. I left Mount Vernon the next morning for Springfield. On arriving at a small settlement about 20 miles east of Columbus, it was found that all the trunks on the rack on the back of the stage had been lost. The passengers waited here about 4 hours while the driver went back with the stage to find the lost baggage, which was found to have slid from the rack while ascending the steep bank of a small stream, which had been forded. It was all dry and uninjured. On arriving at Columbus we were urged to take a luncheon, being told that it would be late in the afternoon when we arrived at Xenia, the place appointed for dinner. Soon after leaving Columbus, I had my first discomfort in riding over a "Corduroy" road, a road made over a meadow or bottom land, by placing logs close together across the road-way. Supper was taken with the driver at Xenia and I arrived at Springfield late in the evening and the rest of the night was spent there.

Another night was spent on the route, and I think it was at Hamilton, between Springfield and Cincinnati. I arrived at Cincinnati in the middle of the afternoon.

I returned to Boston by the southern route, and took passage on a steamboat at Cincinnati for Wheeling. The boat made slow progress against the stream, having a heavy freight and many passengers, and soon after sunset the river valley was filled a dense fog which made it dangerous to proceed in the night. The boat was laid up by the shore and made fast to the trees on the bank, until the fog was scattered by the morning sun. After the ladies had left the dining table, some of the men would remain at the table, and gambling and wrangling were carried on until the time for setting the

table for supper, and after that meal I suppose the same conduct continued until midnight, if not till morning, the officers of the boat being unwilling or afraid to interfere with the habits of their patrons. At Wheeling, I took passage in the mail stage which made a continuous trip, day and night, for Baltimore. There were five passengers for the entire route, one of whom could sleep sitting on the back seat, and it was agreed among the other four that the front seat in the coach should be used by them in turn each night, as a berth on which to sleep, that seat having the least motion and being the widest and most comfortable on the coach.

The teams were good, the coaches excellent and much better than those seen in the north. The Monongahela river was crossed in a flat boat, so constructed at the ends that the stage was driven from the bank on to the boat at one end, the boat was then pushed across the river by men with setting poles on each side of the boat, and arriving at the other side of the stream the stage was driven over the other end of the boat on to the river bank. The river was thus crossed with ease and safety, but it looked like a dangerous method when the water was high and the current rapid.

The stage route over the Alleghany mountains was by the Cumberland road, built by the U. S. Government many years ago to facilitate the transportation of merchandise between the sea coast and the Ohio river. This road was of easy grade, broad and well paved. To overcome the steep acclivity of the mountain, its course was serpentine, a continuous succession of curves, on one side of the curves was a high wall, or embankment, without any railing or guard.

The ride was therefore one of anxiety, especially when the driver put his horses in a run, as he often did in descending the mountain side in the night time, as the coach lanterns

revealed the dark and deep chasms on one side or the other.

The ride over the heavily wooded mountains in the night time was very dreary. We met and passed many heavily loaded baggage wagons employed in transporting merchandise between the sea coast and the Ohio river. They usually had a chime of little bells on a frame on one of the saddles which made a pretty and lively music as the horses moved on, and this was the only cheerful sound that indicated that any living thing was near us. It was said that the horses made their appointed distance in less time, and came in much less fatigued, under the stimulus of this music.

The loss of sleep and the fatigue on this route, made it necessary for me to stop over one day in Baltimore. On leaving Baltimore for home took, I the quickest and usually traveled route. Leaving Baltimore by steamboat for Frenchtown, thence by stage across Delaware to Newcastle, thence by steamboat to Philadelphia, the next morning leaving Philadelphia by steamboat for Bordentown, thence by stages across New Jersey to Amboy, and thence by steamboat to New York City.

The next morning I left New York for Boston but stopped over night in Woodstock. The next day I arrived in Boston after an absence of six weeks, two weeks of which was spent in Cincinnati and the other four weeks were spent in making the journey out and back, with the stopping over on the way for business and curiosity. I immediately went to Cambridgeport and engaged in my manufacturing business again.

Soon after my return from the west in 1830, I had a severe attack of Asthma, an incessant cough and great difficulty of breathing, and early in the autumn I returned to my mother's home in Ipswich, as it was supposed, to die, the doctors and drugs giving me no relief. But the following

winter cured me entirely, and ten or fifteen years later I was told by Dr. J. Jackson of Boston, that my affliction was "hay asthma," a disease of which I had never heard and which has since become so fashionable under the name of hay fever.

On the restoration of my health in the spring of 1831, I commenced manufacturing in Ipswich, which business, I pursued with success and profit until 1837. The financial troubles of 1837 caused the failure of several firms who bought most of my goods, and by such failures I lost most of my earnings.

Disgusted and discouraged in carrying on a business the success of which depended so much upon the conduct of others, I determined to abandon it, and go west and become a farmer.

My return to Ipswich gave me an opportunity to gratify my taste for horticultural pursuits, and I soon had my mother's garden filled with vines and fruit trees. In a few years I bought land and a large number of grape vines, and planted a vineyard. After several years of labor and careful culture, I became satisfied that no known good variety of the grape was suited to our soil and climate, or would succeed here. I thereupon began the search for a good native in the swamps and woods of this region. Whenever I heard of a wild vine bearing fruit called good, I invariably visited it, and I have travelled many miles, and for several years, through the swamps, woods, and morasses of this section, in quest of a grape worth cultivating. Some, of course, were better than others, and that all were better or earlier than the general run, were removed to my grounds, but they did not improve, or were hardly as good, when grown in the warm, dry soil of a garden.

I then began to plant the seeds

continued to do so for three generations of vines, without obtaining, out of many thousands thus raised, a single fruit that I regarded worth propagating, and only a few of them have been preserved, but the earliest and best of native vines, thus obtained, have been used in crossing with the foreign.

Simultaneously with these effects. I raised many hundred vines from seeds of different foreign grapes. These seeds were planted under glass, and the vines remained in the house two years, when they were removed to the open air. None of them proved healthy or would bear our winters. Some of them lived to bear fruit for a year or two, but they all died in a few years, though well covered every winter.

I then sought to obtain better fruit by grafting the native upon the foreign, and planting the seeds of the native, thus grown upon the foreign root; but I could not discover any improvement in the fruit of the seedlings grown from such seed. I also sought to obtain hardihood of vine, by grafting the foreign upon the native and planting the seed of the foreign thus grown upon the native root; but the vines of such seedlings proved no hardier than seedlings from a foreign, ungrafted vine. In neither case did the stock appear to have any influence upon the character or fruit of the vines grown from seed of the graft, nor were such vines different from seedlings of the same species, when grown from seed of ungrafted vines.

I then tried to modify the fruit of seedlings through the agency of the foliage, and as soon as the fruit was formed on each species I inarched the new shoot of the other species into the shoot bearing the cluster just above the fruit. When the union of the shoots was complete, in about two weeks, I cut out the shoot proper to the fruit at the point of union and took off all the foliage on that shoot below the cluster; thus leaving the fruit with no foliage but that of the other

species to nourish and mature it. White grapes were thus grown under the foliage of black grapes, and black under the foliage of white, and each retained its proper color, though the texture and quality of the fruit seemed to be changed by the alien foliage. The foliage of the foreign was thus placed over the fruit of the native, and the foliage of the native over the fruit of the foreign.

The seeds of fruits thus grown, were planted for several years, but the result was a great disappointment. I did not find such a decided effect as I expected. The vines from the seed of the foreign fruit, thus grown, were not so hardy or healthy as I desired, nor was the fruit of native seedlings, thus grown, good enough to be propagated. Perhaps the latter, had they been tried a few years longer, might have improved, and farther south the former might have grown successfully, but, unfortunately, none have been preserved for such further trial.

My next method of seeking for the desired fruit was, by inarching the new shoot of the foreign upon the native, and of the native upon the foreign, as soon as the fruit was formed, both below and above the section of the cane bearing the cluster; and as soon as the union was complete, the cane bearing the cluster was severed from its own root and deprived of all its leaves, thus having the fruit of each species, with about three inches of its cane, grown and matured upon the root and under the foliage of the other species. I hoped some of the seed, thus grown, would produce vines possessing the desired qualities. (A full and more particular account of this process was published in the COUNTRY GENTLEMAN, in September, 1863.) After laboring for more than thirty years in this method, the vines thus obtained were abandoned as worthless.

A more full and particular statement of these experiments,

the methods pursued, their failures and partial successes, was published in a pamphlet in 1877, but this brief statement of my labors may be of interest to the general reader as well as useful to the grape grower.

After closing my manufacturing business in 1837, the next two years were spent in the cultivation of my grape vines, and in the performance of official duties as a selectman and assessor, to which office I was elected in 1837. Much of my time during this period was spent in writing articles for the periodical press, upon important municipal topics, political questions, some poetry, and on current affairs of general interest.

Many pieces of poetry were written in the course of a few years, and several of them were published from time to time in the newspapers of the day. But I had doubts about their merit or whether I had any gift or genius in that direction, or whether it was worth while for me to write more or revise what I had written.

I therefore desired the frank and deliberate opinion of some competent person on these matters, and I wrote to Hon. Edward Everett, saying "I had in my possession a small collection of manuscript poetry which the author wished to submit to his examination and judgement, not merely on the intrinsic merit of the work, but also to know if it is indicative of any talent for writing."

To this request, Mr. Everett replied, that "the difficulties in judging of the merits of a manuscript were so great, that he had been obliged to ask to be excused from making such examinations of manuscripts."

I then called upon the publishers, Munroe & Francis, and made inquiry about the cost of publishing the work.

I was told that no volume of poetry would pay the cost of publication unless it was written by some author of estab-

lished reputation like Mrs. Sigourney or Mrs. Hemans.

I thereupon gave up all idea of revising or completing what I had written, and it has remained in obscurity until now.

Much of it appears too sentimental for an old man of 86; but some of the shorter pieces seem to have some force or beauty and are inserted in this work. If I had had more confidence in myself—more audacity and some encouragement, and had continued my mental labor with such care and diligence as I have exercised in other matters, perhaps I would have rewritten something more worthy of preservation than the following specimens of my early efforts, most of which have remained in obscurity for more than sixty years, and which were written before I was twenty-five years old, when I knew very little of life, of mankind or of the world in general, and when I had to draw from imagination a description of objects I had never seen and emotions I had never felt :

NAPOLEON'S GRAVE. (IN 1835.)

Here now rests the Conquerer
With his pomp and his pride,
With all that he fought for
And won, ere he died.

What now is the worth
Of all that he won,
The conquest of earth,
The sceptre and crown.

Say not that his name
Shall still live in story:—
There may be a fame
Without any glory.

"He conquered"—what then ?
 He was wrong in the strife,
 Bought victory with men,
 Paid for power with life.

He trod on the weak,
 Spurned mercy and right.
 Nor of aught did he reek,
 If it favored his might.

'Till he reached the high goal
 His ambition had sought,
 And held the control
 For which he had fought.

He fell—as man must
 From absolute sway—
 From ruling—how just—
 He fell, to obey.

In loneliness here
 He lies in a bed
 Where none loved and dear
 A tear-drop can shed.

The dark stormy ocean
 Around him may moan:—
 More fit than emotion
 To mourn that he's gone.

His wild, mad career
 (O call it not great,)
 May well claim a tear,
 But not his just fate.

THE GREATEST BOON.

I asked of children as they played
 And 'mong life's early pleasures strayed—
 When all around bade them rejoice—
 What is the boon of childhood's choice ?

In hopefulness they all replied
 Tho' differing in their answers wide,
 One would have this—another that—a toy
 Was the great boon of every boy.

I asked them, when in after life
 They mingled in man's busy strife,
 What's now the greatest boon to you—
 What the chief aim ye have in view ?

One said I spend the midnight oil
 And each succeeding day in toil
 To search, consider and explore
 The learning and the tomes of yore,
 The greatest boon to me is lore.

For me, another quick replied
 The great boon is a loving bride,
 Whom I from early life have loved
 And all her virtues known and proved.

Another said the Trump of Fame
 In giving an undying name,
 Bestows the greatest boon on earth,
 The only one of lasting worth.

The last replied that glittering gold
 In weight and measure both untold,
 Enough to last ten thousand lives,
 Is the great boon—life's greatest prize.

When each his greatest boon had won
 Was weary of the race he'd run
 And life had hard their spirits tasked,
 I saw them and again I asked,
 What think ye is the greatest boon,
 Now all ye labored for is won
 And all ye wished to do is done ?

They all now gave but one reply—
 "It's now the greatest boon to die."

THE PAST.

Thou Past! O who can scan
 Thy vast domain
 Or tell thy age? Can man?
 Alas! how vain!

Who can thy hist'ry tell,
 Or thee explore?
 How long did chaos dwell
 Around thy shore?

Ere the command was given—
 "Let there be light"—
 Before the orbs of heaven
 Dispelled the night—

How many ages rolled?
 Ages of thee?
 How can thy date be told,
 Eternity!

Ages are not thy chronicler,
 In that long night,
 There was no life to register
 Time's ceaseless flight.

No Life and Death were there
 To alternate;
 Nor ever changing year
 To fix thy date.

No sun to mark the noon,
 In its career—
 No stars, nor feeble moon
 Were shining there.

How long, with bounds unfix'd,
 Were waters rolled?
 Did light and darkness mixed,
 The earth infold?

How long! He only knows
 By whose command
 O'er night and ocean rose—
 The sky and land.

Thou Past! What hast thou seen
 Of good and ill!
 What changes there have been
 Thy depths to fill!

Empires have sunk in thee
 With all their power:
 A common destiny—
 They fight no more.

Their glory too has perished;
 Their Arts and pride,
 The sciences they cherished,
 With them have died.

Yes, Babylon, though high
 Her former towers,
 Now mocks the searching eye
 Beneath thy powers.

The music of her hall
 Is hushed forever;
 Her feasting monarch's call
 Will wake it never.

And all her chivalry
 Has bowed to thee.
 Her beauty, rivalry
 Now equal lay,

O'er all her palaces
 And gardens bright,
 The Lion traverses
 With native right.

In vain her massive walls,
 And gates of brass,
 And trumpet's battle call,—
 Denied thy pass.

Egypt, where science dawned,
 Has heard thy call:—
 'Too early hast thou warned
 Her name to fall.

Her glory long has gone,
 And Arabs roam,
 Where knowledge once has shone,
 And had its home.

No more in starry night
 She breaks her dream,
 To catch from orbs of light
 A mental beam.

She's gone. The pyramid
 Alone remains:
 But what—its meaning hid—
 Avails her pains,

To live beyond her time
 By rearing mounds,
 As if she thought to climb
 Beyond its bounds!

To thee has ancient Greece
 In glory gone;
 With all the Arts of peace
 Her wisdom won.

Philosophy! thy home
 Is desolate,
 The Past has o'er it come
 With cruel fate.

And, Eloquence, thy power
The past will claim,
Upon thy native shore,
Naught but a name.

Soon must thy transient light
In foreign clime,
Be lost, in the dark night
Of coming time.

Thy temples, Greece, were reared
With matchless Art,
Thy builders little feared
That they'd depart.

The Past now claims them all,
Of what is left;—
(Their wreck) when that shall call,
Thou'lt be bereft.

What desolation wide,
The Past has made!
And, in its rolling tide,
What glory laid!

O Judea! how sad
Thy change has been!
In truth and wisdom clad,
Once wert thou seen

From every lofty hill
That meets the eyes,—
In death now calm and still—
Did incense rise.

And by each murmur'ing stream—
On peaks where glowed
Day's first and latest beam—
By each abode,

Thy Altars stood. And there,
 At parting day—
 In midnight's silent air—
 By morning's ray,

And noonday's brighter blaze—
 They lit their fires—
 (An emblem of their praise)
 Thy holy sires.

But now, how changed the scene!
 How changed art thou!
 Where are thy Altars seen?
 Where dost thou bow

To Him, whose mighty hand
 Thy fathers led,
 To Canaan's fruitful land,
 Through wat'ry bed;

And through the wilderness
 By cloud of fire;—
 Who heard when in distress
 They raised their prayer;

And soon their murmurs hushed
 With heavenly food;—
 Who spoke—from rock there gushed
 A cooling flood;—

To Him—the great and good,
 Where dost thou bow?
 Where ask for daily food?
 Where pay thy vow?

Thou Past! Blest Palestine
 In thee has lost
 Her light and truth divine—
 Her former boast!

The Temples of her God—
The only "true"—
The pilgrims from abroad
No more can view.

The "Empress of the World"
Has felt thy power;
In thee her sceptre hurled,
To rise no more.

Her legions could not stay
Thy mighty hand;
Could not control thy way,
Or thee command.

Nor Virgil's melody—
Nor Eloquence,
In strength and harmony
Unequalled since—

Nor Sculptor's skillful hand—
Nor Painter's eye—
In which no other land
With her could vie,

Could save old Rome from thee:
Nor Brutus' hand,—
The foe of Tyranny—
Could save her land.

Nor Priesthood's mighty power
O'er earthly crowns
Could fix for thee thy shore,
Or tell thy bounds.

Rome's works may long endure,
Though she has gone,
Yet thou, O Past, art sure
Of all she's done.

Thus have Earth's empires died
 Thus have they gone,
 With all their strength and pride,
 With all they won.

Each having had in turn
 A ruling sway.
 They all to thee return,
 All thee obey.

In thee, our native land
 Has sprung to life,
 As if by magic wand,
 With beauty rife.

All she has been and done,
 E'en now is thine.
 Perhaps, than, what has shone,
 No more may shine.

She surely tends to thee
 As time flies fast—
 Her fate in pride or infamy
 Is thine at last.

History shall fail to tell
 Her name or fate—
 How she arose or fell
 Her being—date—

Thou hast received thy own,
 Insatiate Past!
 Earth's sceptre and its crown
 In thee are cast;

And they who've swayed the one,
 Or worn the other,
 No longer rule alone—
 They sleep together.

The despot rests in thee,
 As well he ought;
 With all the misery
 His actions wrought.

Thou hast the conquerer too;
 To thee he yields,
 Who, to his country true,
 Has won her fields.

All of earth's great and good
 Have gone to thee,
 Or stand, where they have stood,
 Whose destiny

Will soon become their own—
 Thy sepulchre.
 "Unknowning and unknown"
 They'll sleep secure.—

Forgotten—undisturbed—
 No praises there,
 Will ever more be heard
 Nor censures e'er.

The present soon is thine
 It's life and joy,
 Will pomp and splendor shine.
 Thou wilt destroy.

In thee its lofty thrones
 Must crumble soon:
 Must yield to thee its crowns—
 A worthless boon.

All that we know or do
 Will soon be lost;
 Our name, our nation, too,
 Our pride, our boast.

The living still demand
Immortal praise.
The Past, with juster hand,
Hides all their ways.

The present claims its own,—
And has it too—
The Past—the Past alone,
Receives its due.

DESPONDENCY.

Oh, let me have a secret spot
To lay my weary head,
Where friend or stranger cometh not
To mourn or mock the dead,—

Where neither verdant mound nor
Shall mark where I may lay: [stone
Where only the wild winds shall
And only breezes stray. [moan,

Let no one know I lived and died—
Let no one wish to know;
None see me launch on Charon's tide—
None miss me when I go.

Let no one know or ask my name,
My hist'ry or my fate:
None mention me in pride or shame—
None tell their love or hate

There let the dews and sunlight fall
And spring-time blossom fair
They'll wreath for me a gorgeous pall
More fit than monarchs wear.

And I shall nourish fairer forms,
In beauty blooming rife;
Nor feel nor fear the mental storms
That mar a conscious life.

NON-COMMITTALISM.

"Well be it so;" these doubtful words
Are all that I can get,
To show her love with mine accords,
From lips of Susan yet.

She answers thus when'ere I ask
What she unasked should show:
Her answers all do seem a task
Except "well be it so."

"Well be it so" is soon let off—
When'ere I ask a kiss;
She answers thus with cruel laugh
And never says "Oh! Yes."

I tell thee that I love thee Sue;
Now do say yes or no,
And tell me if you love me too—
Eh! Yes?—"well be it so."

Aye—dodging still! I'd rather hear
A blunt and honest "no."
Do give me any answer dear
Except "well be it so."

What does she mean! I cannot tell!
But I will test her now:
Susan, I've come to say farewell—
"Farewell"—"well be it so."

NAY: BUT I WILL DIE HERE.

Oh no: I will not leave my home
So hallowed by the past,
Tho' changes, sad about it, come
With stern, bereaving blast.

Oh no: I will not leave it yet
Tho' desolate its hall;
Tho' none of those I fondly met
Now answer to my call.

Oh no: I will not leave its light
 Tho' feeble be its ray, {bright
 To wander where the scenes are
 But alien is the way.

Oh no: I will not leave my home
 To search for fairer skies;—
 It is not gilding on the dome
 That makes the incense rise.

SONG.

We met when day was dawning,
 And cloudless was the sky;
 Bright was the light of morning,
 And bright the sun on high.

Love made our pathway lighter
 Than light of opening day;
 It made the prospect brighter
 Than Sol's meridian ray.

We met beside the fountain—
 Its cooling stream was clear;
 We met upon the mountain,—
 Refreshing was the air:

Within a fount was gushing,
 More dear than valley's tide;
 Thought was more freely rushing,
 Than breeze on mountain's side.

We met beside the river—
 So calm it seemed to rest,
 Or Zephyr's gentle quiver,
 Gave beauty to its breast.

Within a stream was stealing—
 Love's current none can tell;
 But oft a breeze of feeling,
 Would make the bosom swell.

We met when day was closing
 In rest, her weary eye,
 When Nature was reposing,
 Save stars that gleamed on high.

Dark were the shades of even,
 And silent was the air;
 Still—still we found a heaven,
 For Love was smiling there.

THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

Aye, there they stand in grandeur wild,
 Firm as Creation's base
 With mountain still on mountain piled;—
 Who raised them to their place?

Did man mould them to please his will?
 Did He their strength impart?—
 They stand and laugh at human skill,
 That boasts of matchless art.

They stand as tho' to storms of heaven,
 The challenge had been sent,
 To come, before the tempest driven,
 And give their fury vent.

They rear their lofty battlement
 Against the threat'ning cloud,
 And echo round the firmament,
 The thunders, clear and loud.

In vain the elements combine,
 And vent their feeble spite;—
 Secure, those flinty summits shine,
 Above the tempest's might.

Though lightnings revel round their form,
 And thunders test their power;—
 Unscathed they bear the fiercest storm
 Like fall of mildest shower.

How weak appears the mortal man—
 When standing by their side!
 How impotent his grandest plan!
 How humbled is his pride!

I stand above the murky shroud,
 That wraps the vale below;
 While skies above, without a cloud,
 Shine with unwonted glow.

Around is spread a vap'ry tide,
 Far as the eye can reach;
 Toward east or west—on either side,
 Unbound by distant beach.

I stand upon a ragged rock,
 Placed here at Nature's birth,
 That well may time and ruin mock—
 Far from the noise of earth.

No eagle soars with silent wing,
 Around this lofty height—
 No warblers that in valleys sing,
 Here hail the morning's light.

Abstracted thus from scenes of earth,
 My spirit turns to Thee—
 Thou, who did'st give these mountains birth,
 And form this vap'ry sea.

Thy power, Oh, God, is here displayed;
 Thy witness here is found;
 These strong foundations Thou hast laid,—
 Thou hast this summit crowned.

As Nature's Altar does it stand,
 Amid the ether skies:
 Here, may man own Thy mighty hand
 Here bring his sacrifice.

My heart and feeble tongue awake,
 Jehovah's praise to sing;
 Let anthems once this silence break,
 And o'er these mountains ring

Each ragged cliff and lofty peak,
 In music will rejoice;
 Will of their Maker's glory speak,
 And aid my feeble voice.

And as the sound is borne along
 Upon the passing cloud,
 The distant hills will learn the song,
 And join in chorus loud.

NIAGARA.

Well might the children of the wood
 Bow at thy awful shrine,
 To see the terror of thy flood,—
 The hues that o'er it shine,—

To hear thy thunders ever roar,—
 Thy stream, exhaustless, fall—
 And feel the trembling of the shore,
 Might well their souls appall.

TO THE CHURCH WEATHER COCK.

Oh Father, see on yonder spire
 That cock'rel big and proud
 Has he been put high in the air
 To swell and crow aloud?

My child, 'tis not a living bird,
 But one made up of brass—
 One to be seen and not be heard
 By people as they pass:

'Tis put there to turn round and show
 When winds are "out" or fair:
 Only to show how breezes blow
 They've put that Cock'rel there.

And did they build that steeple high
 So handsomely and slim—
 With all those smaller ones so nigh—
 A roosting place for him?

Those handsome spires thus upward
 sent
 Adorn a Christian temple, son,
 Where holy hours in prayer are spent
 And heavenly peace is sought and
 won.

Why do they want that cock'rel
 A brazen one won't crow, [then?
 As that to Peter did. I ken
 They'd douse him did he so.

Are prayers by wind misguided so,
 And sacred songs diverted too,—
 That those who worship first must
 know

Which way the latest breezes blew?

If not 'twere better, I should think
 To put that cock'rel on the poop,
 Or on the house built o'er the sink,
 Or on the stable, sty or coop.

TO A DOVE.

I envy thee, thou happy dove—
 I envy thee thy wings
 That I like thee might soar above
 Opposing, vexing things.

I envy thee thy happy lot,
 Secure from sin and sorrow :
 A loving mate, a little cot,
 No doubts about tomorrow.

I envy thee thy fleeting life—
 It's dawning, course and close
 In happiness 'tis far more rife
 Than man in wisdom knows.

CONTENTMENT.

Though scanty be my winter store
 And humble be my cot
 I will not covet wealth or power
 Or murmur at my lot—

Nor station, joy, or hope of gain
 Shall tempt my feet to stray
 From home, where peace and comfort
 Life has no better way, [reign—

Wealth may adorn another road
 And honor promise fame,
 A palace is a mere abode
 And fame is but a name—

THOU ART WELCOME.

"Thou art welcome, Oh, thou warning
 voice."—Mrs Hemans.

A welcome to thee, Churchyard King
 With fleshless, gaunt and grim
 array,
 Ye will not scare me with a swing
 Of that fit emblem of thy sway.

You are welcome to this lump of clay
 A bundle of disease and sin—
 You are welcome to take this away
 When there is naught but filth
 within

'Twill not resist thy cold embrace,
 Nor will it tremble in thy arms:
 Fit only for thy resting place
 When 'rest of all its spirit-charms

'Tis all the spoils your victory wins—
 A carcass for the worms to eat,
 Of passions, troubles, sorrows, sins,
 The parent, home and last retreat—

In the spring of 1838 I was again chosen Selectman and Assessor, but I resigned the office in a few weeks for the reason set forth in the following card published in the Ipswich REGISTER:—

MR. EDITOR:—Permit me to offer a few remarks on the contradictory announcements which have been made in the REGISTER within a few weeks in reference to myself.

The first statement, that I declined being considered a candidate for re-election as Selectman and Assessor, was made because I was heartily sick of that office.

The second, that I was re-elected to that office, was made, as well as the election itself, without my consent; but considering the flattering and urgent manner in which the office was tendered to me, I consented to accept it, though that acceptance was much against my feelings and interest.

And now my resignation must be announced. As there were but few present at the meeting on Monday, when it was made, I beg leave to state WHY it was made.

The town authorized and instructed the Selectmen for last year to alter the location of a town way, and settle the damages with the owner of the land, and declared that their decision should be final. We met the owner of the land—he asked for our authority to act—certified copies of the vote of the town were shown him—he was satisfied with them—and after several conferences, we contracted with him for the amount he should receive for damage, and varied the location as we were instructed to do. A report of our doings was made to the town, which was accepted; but the town AFTERWARDS chose a committee to advise the town whether to fulfill that contract—a contract made in accordance with their own instructions—a contract, too, which they had declared should be final—THE TOWN CHOSE A COMMITTEE TO ADVISE THEM WHETHER TO FULFILL THAT CONTRACT OR NOT.

If my townsmen expected me to remain in office after such a decision, I can assure them that they have most strangely mistaken both my feelings and principles.

GEORGE HASKELL.

Ipswich, April 4, 1838.

In 1839 a member of the board died, and I was chosen to

fill the vacancy, there being only one vote thrown against me.

I was continued in that office by annual re-elections until 1847, when I refused to serve longer, and the town meeting of that year passed unanimously a resolution thanking me for the able and faithful manner in which I had performed the duties of that office.

In the fall of 1838 I was chosen a member of the Legislature, but being a new member and a young man, I took no active part in the proceedings, but I sent a report of the daily proceeding to the Ipswich REGISTER, which was published in that paper. I also sent articles on various events in Boston, and of some public meetings which I attended, and public lectures which I heard, and some of these articles may be of interest hereafter as well as now, and are given here :—

BOSTON, JAN. 13, 1839.

SUNDAY MORNING. The Sun had just risen above the massy piles of brick and mortar, when we commenced a walk to enjoy the clear, bracing air of the morning, musing on the mighty change which one single night had effected in the appearance of the city. But a few hours ago, and the busy hum of industry in its numberless avocations and pursuits, gave life and tumult to the now silent and desolate streets. In wandering over the hills and through the valleys of our ancient town, contemplating the scenes around us—the boundless and unscanned ocean, an emblem of that eternity to which Time's ceaseless currents have ever flown, whose depths are unfilled and unsearchable—in listening to the joyous music of Nature's songsters—beholding the contented life of the animal creation around us—surveying the multiplied forms of wisdom and beauty in the vegetable kingdom—in such a ramble, though alone, we could not be solitary. But here, the contrast between the world of yesterday and the world of today was so great, that we could not be otherwise. What now can occupy the thoughts of the restless multitudes? All around is so calm and still, they must, we should think, be silently reviewing their conduct during the irreclaimable past—perhaps offering the prayer of penitence

for pardon—perhaps reflecting on their obligations to their race and their God—perhaps preparing by meditation to unite more acceptably in the service of the Sanctuary,

Then we thought of the past, and conned in imagination the future. But little more than two centuries ago, and Nature reigned here in unmarred beauty and in unsubdued sublimity! But now, how altered! And in the future, how remote we know not, that reign will be resumed. Time will subdue the massy monuments of skill and pride. Even the marble and granite will crumble into their original elements, and the courtly mansion will be supplanted by the glorious forest, where men now crowd the busy mart, the slender reed shall rise, uncrushed save by the step of the wild deer, and unshaken except by the passing breeze. When the solemn bell commenced, we wended our way to church. It now seemed as though every tenement was disgorging itself of Vanity and Fashion; and the occupation of the morning was clearly made known. The precise adjustment of the garments on both sexes—the extreme caution lest it should be disturbed, and their morning efforts to appear will be frustrated—the haughty, roundabout, and half indignant survey they took of each other, and the complacent, half-grinning examination they made of their own garments, palpably contradicted my former musings on their morning duties.

BOSTON, JAN. 23, 1839.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.—We attended the Anti-Slavery Convention, and a greater exhibition of zeal, passion, tumult and forensic talent we never witnessed in any assembly. The subject of discussion was a resolution for the establishment of a new anti-slavery paper, as the organ of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society. This resolution was sustained by Torry, St. Clair, Stanton, Phillips, and others unknown to us. It was opposed by Phelps, Thompson, Loring and Johnson. We have not room for the arguments in full, and will merely give the substance of what was said on both sides. The objections to the Liberator were, that it would not advocate the political action of the Abolitionists, except in a hypothetical manner—that it inculcates non-resistance, and has thus become unpopular—that it gave much matter under the refuge of oppression, against the abolitionists, and then rejected their articles for want of room. Wendell Phillips sustained the Liberator most eloquently—stating

that it was conducted on the only principle on which an anti-slavery paper ought to be conducted—with no party or sectarian bias. As for political action, he begged the society to remember the fate of the anti-masonic party, and not to commit their own to the same unhonored grave. Mr. Hilton (colored) spoke well, grammar aside, in defence of Garrison when he was living on bread and water to sustain the *Liberator*—he was by him when the genteel mob dragged him through the streets of Boston—he had known him in days of trial and danger for the last eight years, and had seen him stand firm to the principles and cause in which he had embarked, and if Garrison was not a simon pure, sincere abolitionist, then neither he or his colored brethren would ever trust or confide in a man with a white face again. This was received with a response that made the Temple shake. Mr. Garrison said the accusation from his brother Stanton, that he was recreant to the cause of the slave, was the most cutting of all. He had been with him week by week, and his brother never intimated that his paper was deficient in any respect. On the contrary, Stanton had overburdened its columns on political action in the 4th District election. As to his recreancy to the cause, he believed he had been regarded as the friend of the colored man and the slave, and he hoped, whatever might be the fate of the *Liberator*, that he had their confidence as such. “You have,” “you have,” was responded from every part of the chapel, and this exclamation was followed by a cheer that spoke more eloquently and sincerely than the tongue of man ever did. He said the circulation of the *Liberator* was 4000—that its non-resistance matter was on both sides of the question, and that it occupied on an average not more than one and a half columns per week of the twenty in the paper—that it was for the discussion of slavery, and on that account an opportunity was given for both sides to be heard—that he DID urge men to be consistent, and if they went to the polls, to vote in support of their abolition principles in preference to their partisan feelings.

The resolution was finally postponed indefinitely, although there is no doubt but a new paper will be established, but not as the organ of the society. Erroneous as Garrison is, in our opinion, in regard to non-resistance and the perfectibility of human nature, yet the devotion of his youth, his time, his talents, and his energies to the cause of abolition—a cause which seeks to restore man to his rights

as man, and to the just and accountable position which he, as a moral being, sustains towards his Creator—his early and constant devotion to, and sacrifices for this glorious cause, are more than sufficient to atone for all his errors. Identified as he is with abolition, as its pioneer and herald, no attempts to supplant him, or to rob him of the merit which is his due, can be successful. The past is secure to him—history will take care of that—the dangers, toils, privations and difficulties will only add to the harmony and power of that poem which will be raised by thousands, aye, MILLIONS of men, rejoicing in the light, knowledge, and liberty of freemen, to the memory of him the first advocate of their deliverance.—He may never hear that praise—it may be, with the consummation of his labors, far in the dim and distant future—but if there is any uniformity, any fixedness in moral excellence, and if it be such to labor for the elevation of mankind, so sure it is that this praise will be rewarded him, sooner or later. We speak of him merely as an abolitionist, as we do not like either his political or his religious notions.

Thursday morning the Convention met in Faneuil Hall for the first time. We could not be present, but hear they made a real jubilee of it. In the afternoon the discussion was on the report of the managers of the society, in which something was said about political action. This appears to be the rock on which the society will split—Stanton, Scott and others affirming it to be the duty of abolitionists to exert their influence politically. Wendell Phillips and others were opposed to any such test, were for putting their cause on a higher ground, and for leaving every member to act, politically, as he saw fit. In the evening they met in the Representatives' Hall, which was crowded almost to suffocation. We have made this letter so long that we cannot say much of the speeches, but that of M. Phillips was a classical, fervent and interesting address—more so than any we ever heard on this subject. If we could do justice to this address, we should not be afraid of worrying your readers. We cannot do it justice, and will merely express a hope that it will be published. He congratulated the society on the change in public sentiment within the last few years.—They were now admitted to this Hall and to the Cradle of Liberty, which a few years ago were closed against them. We have said thus much on the division of the Abolitionists, as it is likely to

have an important bearing before many years on all our political questions and parties, and it may be instructive to know how, and why, these divisions and questions were raised.

P. Q. X.

BOSTON, FEB. 6, 1889.

MR. EDITOR:—

In a ramble about the city this afternoon, we met three funerals, all slowly wending their way in different directions, yet all bound to the final resting place of man. No solemn knell was heard to admonish the gay and busy that death was in their midst, and that a fellow mortal was journeying to that "bourne from whence there is no return." The passing throng went by these processions apparently without noticing them, or indulging a single thought on the lesson they teach. Decrepit age, bowing over its staff, carefully felt its way along the sidewalk, nor seemed to think of the nearness of that final step which terminates its earthly journey—Manhood, with thoughtful mien went by, indifferent to all that was passing around him, undoubtedly calculating how he should fill his store-house, nor thinking there is but one which he must surely fill—Youth, passing with pride and laughter, regarded not the scene—Childhood ONLY looked one moment at the "pomp of woe," and then renewed its joyous pastimes. None seemed to know or care who died or who mourned. All went on their way as though these scenes were nothing to them; and yet they all bear the same relations in life which the dead and mourning bore, and are all liable to the same bereavements and the same fate. There appears to be none of that interest in the fate of others here, which makes the villager so attached to his neighborhood. Though this interest sometimes leads to officious intermeddling, still it is a source of much happiness; and it is one of the curses of a city, where so many crowd together who are strangers to each other, that all sympathy seems to be driven out of their hearts by the very number of the objects which call for it. We followed a little way in the rear of one funeral, reflecting on the fate of man, the repose of the dead, and the quietude of the grave. Why should men dread these? The tumult of passions will never again pervade the breast of yonder dead—the strife of this world will never more disturb it—nor earthly hopes deceive it—nor labor weary it—

nor sin pollute it—nor envy curse it—nor love perplex it—nor doubt distract it—nor sickness pain it—nor fear invade it—nor hate debase it—nor sorrow rend it—nor death again subdue it. Calmly it will repose, nor heed the commotions which rage over its final resting place. The storms of men and the elements will trouble it not,—alike beyond their reach and power, it will be silently remoulded to new and beautiful existences to adorn its own sepulchre. When the “time of the singing of the birds is come,” then shall the humble violet and may-flower spring from its corruption, annually to adorn the spot, and to meet in autumn the fate of the slumberer beneath. Why is man loth to break the clogging chain that binds his soul to earth? Why not cheerfully release the spirit from its “prison house of clay,” and permit to soar in its native element beyond the reach of time and sin? Why does he cling to hopes and joys of earth, nor willingly wing his way for that abode he hopes to find—the dwelling of his God? Why does he look behind with jealous care for what he leaves, nor raise his vision to behold the bright prospect unfolding before him?

Death is not a violation of Nature’s laws, nor a deviation from her proper course. On the other hand it is the fulfillment of her laws, and the consummation of our existence. It is as much a part of our being as any other incident that necessarily occurs during our mortal pilgrimage. Neither can we find ruin in it. The flower, blooming with beauty and fragrance in the morning, ere eve may wither and die. Man mourns it not. He knows the vernal shower and sunshine will summon from the earth another as bright and beautiful as the first. So it is with the generations of men. They come—remain their allotted term—are followed by others who in their turn are supplanted by others still. There is a continuous change from life to death and from death to life going on in every living thing—and disorganization and reorganization in all inanimate matter:—but RUIN is found no where. All decay is but the transformation from one form of beauty and existence to another. But we are writing too long a sermon, and we fear that the reader will hardly have patience to read thus far, without scolding at the triteness of the subject. Being in the mood we have written, but shall leave it for you or them to judge the matter. We said none of the passers by appeared to consider the lesson which the burial of the dead might teach them. Youth could learn that the joy and hopes

of their state are brief as the glory of the morning—that 'tis only the beauty of the mind, which can survive death's touch unmarred and unpolluted. Manhood, in its strength might learn that it must eventually bow to the stern monarch, though it may for a while sustain the unequal contest, and that its unsatisfied desires for honor or wealth will not avail for any delay. Age can view it as the termination of its infirmities and as the prelude to reunion of long sundered ties. The Christian can regard it as the fruition of his hopes and confirmation of a faith which alone can scorn death's power, and which will be triumphant over it even when the grave APPEARS victorious. P. Q. X.

In 1839, while yet undecided about a removal to the west, Asa Andrews, one of the oldest members of the Essex bar, and who was a near neighbor, called upon me, saying he had heard the rumor of my intention to go west, and that he had called upon me to protest against it. I replied that the cultivation of the soil was peculiarly agreeable to me, and that it had always been a pleasure to plant, and tend plants.

He said that he knew enough of me to know that I was capable of better things and more important work, and my endowments were such that I might become a capable and successful lawyer. To my suggestion that I needed the preliminary education, he replied, that diligent application to the studies really necessary would obviate that objection. He urged me to take some of his books and examine the field of study; adding that it would be wicked for me to bury myself in the western woods in such a useless life.

I took some of his books and soon became deeply interested in the study of the common law, its necessity for the government of the public, its early provisions, and its modification from age to age, as the advancing civilization of the race required. I therefore concluded to "Study Law," which I did with constant diligence for three years.

In the fall of 1840 I was elected to the Legislature. During the canvass, Amasa Walker and George Bancroft, the historian, came to Ipswich, and delivered addresses in behalf of the Democratic party. I prepared a reply, or review, of their addresses which was regarded as so useful for the Whigs that a large number were printed and circulated in this part of the state. Those reviews may be interesting now, as showing the issues upon which the Harrison campaign of 1840 was conducted, and they are given as published in the *FREEMAN AND WHIG*, in October, 1840 :—

MR. EDITOR.—Mr. Collector Bancroft has been here to enlighten us on the nature and principles of Democracy, and perhaps a few remarks in reply to his address might not be amiss, as it is said he delivered the same address in Haverhill, Newburyport and other towns. After considerable flourish about the “eternity and identity of truth and Democracy,” he finally told us, poor benighted mortals, “that democracy was the application of morals to public affairs.” We suppose this means, that the Van Buren party perform their public duties with UNCOMMON regard to good morals. Those who have seen how they perform these duties will hardly believe this. The Whig democratic doctrine is this :—that all political power is in the people ; not in the wealth—not in the learning—not in the official authority of any man or class of men, but in the voice or expressed will of the whole people ;—that government and laws are instituted and should be administered for the public good ; and not for the benefit of any man, or class of men, OR ANY PARTY. This is Whig democracy ; how does Mr. Bancroft’s look by the side of it. Mr. B. found much fault with Hamilton’s conduct as Secretary of the Treasury under Washington. To this we will only reply, that whatever Hamilton did in his official capacity at the time alluded to, was done with the advice and con-

sent of **GEORGE WASHINGTON**; and it cannot be necessary for us to defend what **Washington** recommended, merely because **GEORGE BANCROFT** says it was wrong.

He said "**the Whigs** had involved the States in immense Rail road debts," and "that the liabilities of Massachusetts therefore amounted to more than \$5,000,000, and this enormous debt was incurred by the Whigs." Mark the duplicity of the fellow in speaking of our debts; when we are liable, only as an endorser is, who has taken a mortgage to secure himself. However, we will not defend these loans—we never thought them right or wise, and there are as many Whigs as Van Buren men of this opinion. But we may deny the truth of his assertion, that these loans were made by the Whigs. We speak from personal knowledge on this point; these loans, could not have been obtained if the Van Buren members had voted against them. On the contrary, every loan, from the first to the last, has been granted by the aid of the Van Buren members of the Legislature, and by the preaching of Mr. Rantoul, jr. who has been, and Amasa Walker who now is, a director in a Western road; and both of whom are leaders in, and preachers of Van Burenism. Whig policy, forsooth! look at the two States which are in the worst condition by this rail road policy—Pennsylvania and Illinois. Neither of them has had a Whig Legislature for twelve years, we believe, and yet Pennsylvania has a debt of \$33,000,000, and a direct tax to pay the interest thereon, which was imposed, too, by the Van Buren party that created the debt. So, too, of Illinois. She has always had Van Buren rulers, and they have run her into a debt of \$13,000,000, while she has not half the population and not one quarter the capital of Massachusetts. This is the condition of States that have always supported and still cling to the Van Buren party. Yet they try to cast all the fault of this miserable policy upon

the Whigs. They cannot do it. He said all these State debts would be assumed by the General Government within one year after Gen. Harrison's election. Of course, he knows this, or he would not say so. But how he knows is a mystery. We do not believe one word of it. On the contrary, the Whigs; both as a party, and through their presses and public men, have continually and unanimously condemned and disavowed such a policy. And yet this Lecturer, and his co-workers, repeat and reiterate the accusation against us, with the most indecent pertinacity, and in open violation of their own principles of democracy—that of “applying morals to politics.” The Whigs not only condemn the policy of assumption, but they also deny the right and power of the general government to assume one dollar of these debts. But he said we wanted “to assume State debts by distributing the revenue from the sale of public lands.” That is, *to assume State debts by taking of our share of money that belongs to us!* Strange logic! Strange assumption this. These lands were owned, conquered or purchased by the Atlantic States; a part of them were gained by the revolution, and in the acquisition of these Massachusetts spent some blood and treasure, and why, pray, when the General Government does not need the money—why should not she receive her part of the money for the land which they sell? We will tell why. At the time this distribution was contemplated, Mr. Van Buren wanted votes in the Western States, and his leading supporters, Benton and Calhoun introduced a plan of surrendering these lands, amounting to 130 millions of acres, to the States in which they lie. But the Whigs wanted to divide the money received for them among all the States, and by this plan Massachusetts would have received several millions, and by the other plan nothing. At this time the General Government did not want the money, as there was 40 mil-

lions in the Treasury, and if either plan had been adopted no increase of the duties would have been necessary. But now the expenditures of the administration have increased, so as to use up all the revenue from customs, lands and TREASURY NOTES TO BOOT. Of course, the party in power do not now want to have this part of the revenue given up to any States, or by either plan. The gentlemen therefore inquires "what is the use of dividing this when you will have to increase the duties on importations, and thus tax the consumer?" Nobody proposes or desires to do any such thing. We only ask, that when you sell public lands, which belong in part to us, that you will pay us, of Massachusetts, our part of the money; and not use it to reward political favorites. But the gentleman says "if we do this, you must pay us more duties." We say no; cut down your expenses to the good old standard, and you will find it convenient to divide the revenue from public lands among the States. But the gentleman says, this is our mode of assuming the State debts. It is a sufficient answer to this, that this distribution was proposed five or six years ago, before many of these debts were contracted or even contemplated, and long before it had entered the imagination of our opponents, that this charge of assumption would make a good BUGBEAR. And how taking money, due us from the General Government, is assuming the debts of other States, is mysterious.

He also said we should have a National Bank within one year after Harrison's election. We do not believe this, but he knows it of course. He said that if another Bank was chartered it would cause a great deal of distress to the commercial community, and trouble to the local Banks. And how? Why, he said that to take up the stock of such a bank, it would be necessary to draw all the money now deposited in the local banks, and such would be the effect, to the great

embarrassment of both banks and community. The money is now lying idle on deposit ; but if you invest it in a bank which will loan it to the community, why the community will have less. What profound logic ! What financial skill ! Taking money to establish a Bank will make money scarcer ! By this rule, the more banks we have, the scarcer money will be. But it is not true it would require all the deposits in the banks to take up the stock of a new bank, if one should be chartered. The deposits in the banks last January, were \$75,696,857, and for the last seven years they have ranged from that amount up to \$127,297,185, averaging more than \$90,000,000—a larger amount than the desired capital of any bank.

He next attempted to say something against the influence of employers over the politics or vote of the employed ; but his heart seemed to fail him on this point—probably he thought, just then, of the government—a very great employer, who will have no one employed about their business who is not of their party. He said economy was commendable:—with a salary of \$4000 and perquisites worth \$2000 more he could preach economy consistently. He said Mr. Van Buren did not buy the gold spoons ; but he did not deny, that he had spent \$1307 for three window curtains, and \$2000 for gold leaf and gilding for the Palace—these and many other similar expenditures, he did not deny, and could not deny with truth. But he said Mr. Van Buren did not ask for these appropriations—he only spent them—that's all, as though he was obliged to spend them. He indulged in one flout at Gen. Harrison's military character. This was most unfortunate for him, for such slurs come with an ill grace from the present military administration, which has spent six years and more than thirty millions of dollars in attempting to conquer a few thousand Indians, and which

has been compelled after all, to form an alliance with Cuban bloodhounds to finish the work. He had much to say about the sub-treasury, but few arguments. These few we will briefly examine. He said it would benefit the banks by regulating and checking their issues ; and by doing this it would keep the paper currency good and thus benefit the farmer, laborer and everybody else. But how is it to regulate and check the banks? He BEGGED this question, and then inferred the rest as though this was granted. He argued altogether on the ground that we should certainly have a good paper currency with the Sub-Treasury, and a bad one without it. But the fact is, we have had a good paper currency without this scheme and can have again. Nor do we believe this can have any effect to rectify a bad currency. If this plan is such a remedy for these evils, why do they not apply it, (if they can find a way to,) to the suspended banks of Pennsylvania and Mississippi of their own creation. But how will they make it reach the banks at all? He tells us that when government receives much money, it being collected in specie, will cause a demand on the banks for specie. In answer to this it may be said, that this call, instead of being a wholesome check, may be made when the banks have not an excessive circulation, and will it not then be oppressive? Besides, he says the government will never have more than \$5,000,000 on hand at any one time. Whereas the banks had \$33,105,155 in specie in their vaults last January, and for the five previous years it has averaged \$36,437,829. So that if the greatest amount, which he says the government would ever have on hand, was taken from the banks, they would still have \$30,000,000 left; and one would think they might get along pretty comfortably with that;—at least they would not be under the regulation and control of the Sub-Treasury with the \$5,000,000 only. He also said that

by checking the banks—they would have to check their customers—and they in turn would have to lessen their business and thus it would stop over-trading. Now how the collection and abstraction of \$5,000,000 can control the whole business of the country, when the MANUFACTURES of MASSACHUSETTS ALONE amount to ninety millions annually, we cannot comprehend. We ask the attention, however, of every candid man to his statement of the operation of the Sub-Treasury as given above (and it is correctly given;) and IF TRUE, does it not put the whole business and currency of the country, and EVERY MAN'S BUSINESS also, under the thumb of the Sub-Treasurers? Such power its friends give it—are the people ready to approve such a scheme? He did not show its bad effects on men who owed money, or on men who had nothing but their labor to rely upon, and who therefore desire high wages. No, he said nothing about this, nor about the security of the public funds, which ought to be the first consideration on this subject—he was too prudent to touch these topics. We would ask, however, if a man wanted to deposit money in Boston, would he deposit it with Isaac Hill, or in one of the best banks in the city? Government had the same choice—have they chosen wisely?

He intimated through his whole lecture that the Whigs wanted, or would have, a debased or bad paper currency, and that Van Buren men, and they only, were in favor of, or would have a good one. In reply to this, we again will refer to the Van Buren States of Pennsylvania and Mississippi, and ask every man to compare their currency with that of the Whig States of New York and Massachusetts; and they will then see which party maintains IN PRACTICE the best currency.

PRACTICE is the best test of the wisdom of political principles. And if the measure of the Whigs, in the States where

they have the power, have secured to the people a more safe, stable and uniform circulation, than the Van Buren party have maintained in their States, (and such is the fact,) is it not the best—is it not CONCLUSIVE evidence, of the superior wisdom and utility of the Whig policy.

A HARRISONIAN.

IPSWICH, OCT. 22, 1840.

MR. EDITOR—Since we wrote to you in reply to Mr. Bancroft's address, Mr. Amasa Walker has been here to expound the currency question. He disclaimed all political expectations, said he should not refute the Whig slanders; and that the public money was not under the control of the administration, as they could not touch a dollar of it without going to the State prison. But suppose they ran away—no rare thing—how can we catch them? Suppose the President tells the sub-treasurer to remove it somewhere else, (as Jackson told Duane,) or he will appoint another who will remove it where he says: can't he do so? He said they wanted a radical change in the currency, of which the Sub-Treasury was the COMMENCEMENT. Why did he not tell us what they wanted next? Have we not had enough of their "tinkering" and scheming? He said we did not need banks for exchanges; there was a NATURAL exchange, which was a sort of barter. But suppose we wanted to pay for \$10,000 worth of cotton in New Orleans, and we find NATURAL exchange in several men's hands who have sent shoes and other manufactures there for sale, but they ask five per cent. premium. If there is no other exchange but NATURAL, we must pay them \$500 premium. But if we have a paper currency of equal value throughout the country, we could put a bank bill of that kind into a letter, and get the funds there for fifty cents; and by noting the date and number of the

bill, (so as to identify it,) without any risk. Is not this better than his "natural" exchange? He said Gov. Davis attempted to prove that the Sub-Treasury would cut down wages to TEN PENCE a day.—This is a downright falsehood; yet it is the assertion of a man who pretends to be too conscientious to BET! He said it would regulate the banks, but this it cannot do, as we showed in our former letter. HE thought it the best plan for government and community, but nineteen out of every twenty merchants in Boston thought otherwise; yet, from his reflections and reading, he thought they were wrong! He condemned the local banks; said that in Massachusetts they issued \$14 of paper to \$1 of specie: in Alabama \$100; and in Mississippi a cart load. This is not true in any one particular. And what is most unfortunate for his argument, instead of being the fault of the Whigs, the two last States are now and always have been under the control of the Van Buren and Sub-Treasury party. He said that when he first heard that Jackson had vetoed the Bank, he said it was a good thing, though he then expected to lose \$10,000 by it, as he had \$500,000 of exchange afloat. But he was mistaken; "instead of losing ten, he lost fifty thousand by it but HE DID NOT MIND THAT MUCH, as his conscience approved the measure!" These are his own words—a most unlucky confession. Here is one man, (and he not one of the greatest merchants by any means,) losing \$50,000, if he tells the truth, not by the banks, but by Jackson's veto and "tinkering" of the currency. No wonder he failed; no wonder at the prostration of business, when we consider how many merchants would lose in the same way. But he says, though he lost the amount by the veto, all the others suffer by overtrading and unsound banks. What absurdity! Yet he told us he had had as much connection with the currency as any man of his age, and had

been a bank director, but was not now! He said he had sold \$400,000 worth of goods to customers in Missouri, and had not lost \$4,000, because they had no banks there. The fact is, they had a branch of the U. S. bank there till the charter expired in 1836, and have had a "State bank" for two years past. Illinois, he said, was completely bankrupt: this can't be the fault of the Whigs, surely. He gave a doleful account of Alton; he had sold there \$15,000 worth of goods and lost \$10,000 of it. We recollect that this Mr. Walker was in Alton two or three years ago, and delivered a speech at a Railroad meeting there. He then complimented this city on its enterprise and flattering prospects; spoke in favor of their railroad schemes, (which have nearly ruined them,) and even advocated their extension to Boston! 2000 miles! But he can now laugh at "picture cities"—pigmy speculations to his railroad scheme. He said he wanted a currency which no President could overturn as Jackson did the old; though the Sub-Treasury is under the administration. Yet the currency will be independent of the administration. This was his reasoning. He told his party not to fear: they were on the Democratic side, and were supporting their own interest. This caution was necessary: many, very many REAL Democrats do not think the Sub-Treasury Democratic, nor do they think it will promote their interest or that of the country at large.

He told us it would stop speculation. Let us see how. Suppose there are two traders, one of whom has \$10,000 in cash, and the other nothing but his good credit to do business upon. It surely will not stop the speculations of the rich man, for he has got his cash on hand: on the contrary, by lessening the price of the article he deals in, it will enable him to buy up more with his \$10,000, to hold for a higher price. Take flour, for instance, if it is \$9 per barrel,

he can buy up only 1111 barrels ; but if it is only \$5, he can buy up 2000 barrels. It will be seen at once, that the lower the price is, the easier it is for men who have the money to buy up an article and control the market. So it will not stop the rich man's speculations, but will give him additional power of oppression and extortion. We think it will stop the poor man from trading in a great degree ; though equally as honest and capable as the rich trader, he will have to leave the rich trader without the troublesome competition of the poor, who must sell when the day of payment comes, even if he gets a small profit. But Mr. Walker says it will not be so ; that he would sooner trust a man of good credit for \$10,000 under Sub-Treasury times, than for \$2000 under OLD times. If it is true, that a poor man will be able to get five times as much on credit as he could formerly, (and that is what he says,) how will it stop him from speculating ? There is another point deserving notice. If money is scarcer, and prices lower, how will it effect the young and enterprising, who have hired money to pay for their farms or dwelling houses ? If money is scarcer, interest wont be lower, that is certain.

Now suppose a farmer or mechanic owes \$1000 for which he pays \$60 interest. 'Tis true, he pays but six per cent, if money is scarcer : but if the price of produce falls, will he not have to sell more of it to get \$60 ? Or if a mechanic, and labor falls, will he not have to work more days to earn the interest ? This is certainly not a good system for them. But how will it effect the nabob who loans them the money ? He will get but his six per cent, but when he pays this again to the farmer for produce, or to the mechanic for labor, will it not go farther or get more of these, than it would when prices were higher ? Then is not this in fact giving him a higher rate of interest, and taking it out of the other classes ?

He told us the laboring classes would be better off with low wages ; that while wages had fallen from \$1.25 to \$1, flour had fallen from \$9.50 to \$5.00, pork from 30c. to 17c, butter from 22c. to 16c, and cheese from 10c. to 8c.; and this was a greater proportion than the reduction on wages. This was a bad story to tell our farmers, quite as numerous and important a class as the laborers. Yet he told the farmers it would be a benefit to them by teaching them economy ! when there was a prospect of high prices, they were apt to be extravagant. What considerate kindness it was, for a broken merchant to give them this advice ! But the consumer is not sure these reductions will continue ; if there should be a short crop, or if prices should rise in other countries, they will here, though his wages will not. But will the laboring men, who constitute the vast majority of our citizens, believe that lower wages will improve their condition or circumstances ? We do not believe they will, when the whole history of mankind, from the time Adam was commanded to till the earth down to the present time, proves, that in every age—among every nation—in every land—and under every government, the people have been most intelligent, prosperous, happy and free, where labor has received the highest recompense. This is too serious a question to be decided by the theoretical speculations of politicians, involving, as it does, the welfare of a great majority of mankind ; and it certainly is singular that a Democratic administration should recommend a system that will reduce wages.—The fact is, labor has never been half paid in its best estate. For if we contrast it with other employments, we shall find that it has always yielded a poor recompense compared with theirs. Yet labor is the origin of all real wealth ; the shoemaker, for instance, adds to the value of the leather, by putting it into forms of comfort and

use; the blacksmith by converting iron to forms of necessity and convenience; and every other mechanic and manufacturer by his labor makes the article he works upon more valuable to the public, by adapting it to the uses of mankind. The same is true of the farmer, by whose labor the necessities of life are extracted from the soil and added to the general wealth of the community. The same is also true of the sailor and fishermen, who draw their treasures from the ocean, rivers, or clam-banks. All these add to the public wealth, as there is something produced or provided by their labor for the use of mankind. It may be safely asserted that without labor, there is no addition to the real wealth of a people; and will any Democrat say that these producing classes get too much pay? And yet the Van Buren party say so; at least, their measures reduce the wages of these classes, and then they come forward to prove that low wages are good; or as Mr. Walker stated it, "that they were best off when they received least, and worst off when they received most." We do not believe this. These classes are not half paid in comparison with the non-producing classes. The Lawyers, Ministers, Physicians and Traders, do not, directly, add one cent to the common stock of property, yet they all, except ministers, generally add pretty fast to their own stock; while others, who by a life of industry have been adding continually to the general wealth, have received but a scanty living from the society they have thus benefitted.

Do not misunderstand us. Every man cannot be his own shop-keeper, Doctor, Lawyer and Minister, and all these professions are absolutely necessary. We want traders, to buy our productions and sell us others—we want doctors, to mend our bodies and our bones—we want ministers, to enlighten, wound, and then quiet our consciences—and we want lawyers to protect our rights and redress injuries done

our persons or property ; we could not get along in civilized society without these, and yet they do not add anything to the general amount of wealth or property. Though the compensation of the workingmen has been so low—so unreasonably low—in comparison with these professions, yet the Van Buren party, or rather their leading men and lecturers, justify and sustain a reduction in that compensation. We know they say they are not in favor of it ; but they have brought it about, and now they tell us it is a good thing—a grand thing for the working men ! No one question, to be incidentally decided with this political contest, is of more importance than this, “whether the recompense of the producing classes shall be what it has been, or shall continue to fall through the next four years ?” The decision of this question, thanks to the wisdom of our fathers, lies with the laboring men. Knowing this fact, and relying on their intelligence for a discernment of the true issue, and on their independent action for a corresponding ballot, we cannot doubt the result.

A HARRISONIAN.

IPSWICH, OCT. 26, 1840.

In the Legislature of 1841, very fortunately no committee or other legislative work was assigned to me, and I had a good opportunity to read the works on Law in the State Library, which are not often found in private libraries—especially Justinian’s Institutes, the great fountain of the Civil Law, which I read with avidity and actual pleasure, affording as it does a knowledge of the philosophy of the law as well as its history, although furnishing few precedents for our times.

During this session I contributed regularly to the “WHIG AND FREEMAN,” a paper published at Lynn. Not much interest now attaches to proceedings of the House of Repre-

sentatives or to many of the other matters then under consideration of the public, but a few of them of permanent interest are inserted here, especially Prof. Walker's Lecture on Natural Religion :

BOSTON, JANUARY 16, 1841.

We attended a Lecture of the "Lowell Institute," last Tuesday evening. It was the first of a course on "Natural Religion," and the lecturer was Professor Walker, of Harvard University. He showed the faults of the published works on this subject. He thought that Butler's Analogy, good as it was in some respects, was on the whole ill adapted to the present age. Instead of removing difficulties which presented themselves to the mind, it attempted to reconcile us to them by showing that there were difficulties, which we could not understand, in all things. He said the Bridgewater Treatises, which were intended to show DESIGN in nature, and thus prove the existence of a DESIGNER, had merely multiplied instances of ADAPTATIONS, without showing by a logical argument how the adaption of things to their ends proves design, and thus the existence of a designer also. He paid a high compliment to Puley, but said that many things which he took for granted as the basis of his reasoning, were now denied by unbelievers, and these it was now necessary to prove in the first instance. There were two kinds of evidence of the truth of Natural Religion. The first was A PRIORI, or intuitive, found in the constitution of the mind itself, this he called PRIMITIVE. The other was A POSTERIORI, or deduced from our reason and experience—was obtained by reasoning, and this he called SECONDARY. He said no attempt to prove truth A PRIORI had been made in our language, since the time of Locke, except by Dr. Samuel Clarke, and all he won by it was a niche in one of Pope's satirical poems, ending with the following lines:

"We take the A PRIORI road,
And reason downward till we doubt of God."

Though discarded in Britain, truth had been sought on the continent, and it was Philosophy, founded on this mode of investigation, that had given the death blow to French infidelity. He considered the intuitive, not only the most important and sure evidence of Natural Religion, but the foundation also of all other evidence; for

no man could deduce truth from facts and experience, without relying more or less on intuitive truths, or what he knows to be true without having the proof thereof. We might indeed infer the existence of God from seeing his foot prints in every part of creation around us; but when we looked within, we saw his image reflected in our own souls.

He did not distinctly say he should do so, but we inferred from his remarks that it was his intention to give in these lectures a systematic analysis of Natural Religion, as drawn from the intuitive perceptions of the human mind; embracing the natural religious sentiments of man; the being, personality and character of God; and man's nature, duty and destiny.—This is a grand conception, but it will be a terrible task, to fathom the soul and ascertain truth from the natural, involuntary, and uniform convictions of the human mind. We fear we have not done the lecturer justice; the room was so crowded, that we could not take a single note, and have written this from memory. We could not avoid the reflection which was forced upon the mind from the peculiarity of the place—the Odeon, (the old Theatre,) where, a few years ago, similar crowds were wont to assemble for amusement, while

“He who aped the Baboon best,
Gave to their pleasure greatest zest”—

but now filled with immortals, who are listening, with intense interest, to the most profound and abstruse investigations into their own nature, and into their relations to the rest of the Universe, as well as into all that can be learned or known of the Unsearchable, the Infinite and Eternal.

P. Q. X.

In March, 1843, I was admitted to the bar. I opened an office in Ipswich, and being well known in the vicinity soon had a fair practice. In the early part of my practice the trial of a case was much more tedious than it is now. By the abolition of special pleading—a most unwise concession to stupidity and carelessness—a party was compelled by the other to be prepared to prove every material fact that might effect the general issue, while this simplified the issue upon the record it made the trial very long, tedious and uncertain.

The trial of a case under this system was very annoying to

my sensitive and nervous temperament, and made my professional life one of anxious drudgery. While a remedy for this state was under consideration, I sent the following article to the Boston Daily ADVERTISER, which excited much surprise among men not familiar with proceedings in court, that such a system be tolerated under the name of justice:—

MR. EDITOR—The delay, expense, and injustice attending the judicial determination of controversies in Massachusetts have been the cause of constant and general complaint for several years. The Legislature has been asked again and again to take some action for the removal of these evils, and has as often refused to adopt any practicable mode of obviating them.

We see the subject has been brought to the notice of the present legislature, and if the LAY members thereof will excuse our presumption in the attempt, and you can afford the room in your columns, we should like to give them a brief but particular account of the causes and occasions of these evils. And we may say in the outset that these evils do not arise from the NUMBER of cases MERELY, nor from the inability of the courts to dispose of them in a speedy and just manner, by reason of their intrinsic difficulty; but these evils arise from the inability of the courts to dispose of all the cases before them promptly, and equitably and at the same time consistently with the legal rights of the parties, under our present manner of proceeding.

A brief statement of the progress of a case in court will best illustrate the cause, extent and nature of the evils.

An action, for instance, is entered, and is continued, at the first term of course, there being five hundred to one thousand cases before it, upon the docket, which have been continued from the former term.

At the next term, fifty to one hundred of these old cases are marked for trial. Many of the others are continued, and most of them are so continued because there is so small a chance for a trial and so much uncertainty as to the time when a trial can be had, if had at all during the term. Our case, however, is marked for trial.

The trials commence, and the first case proves to be an action of replevin—replevin for a calf—for a calf worth five dollars, and the real and only question between the parties is, whether the plaintiff

ought to have paid the defendant, a field-driver, FIFTY CENTS as fees for impounding said calf.

This case is tried upon the general issue, and everything pertinent which can be denied by either party is denied and required to be proved.

In such a case there are many distinct points or facts, (we have not counted them but certainly there are as many as forty,) which often are and may now be lawfully made a matter of controversy and proof, and the decision upon either of which may decide the case, and each of these points in its relations and proofs involves a vast number of particulars.

The trial of this important case, occupies, (as such cases often in fact do,) the time of the Court for FOUR whole days, causing an expense of THREE to FIVE hundred dollars to the Commonwealth, and still greater expense to the numerous other parties whose witnesses are in attendance in several of the next succeeding cases marked for trial; the parties in which can seldom know in advance whether a trial will last five minutes or as many days. This case is put as illustration only, but such cases and results are often witnessed in our Courts. Actions of other forms and for other causes are often contested with a similar spirit, and are thus improperly, unjustly and expensively protracted in the same LEGAL manner.

The next case of the fifty to one hundred in order for trial proves to be an action upon a note—usually one of the most brief in trial. The defence to it is opened to the jury upon many and inconsistent grounds. The denial of the signature, the want or failure of consideration, a set-off, payment, and perhaps USURY are each rolled upon in the defence, and the plaintiff summons in witnesses in reply to all this matter. The hearing on this second trial lasts perhaps a day or two; or perhaps the defence so fully opened breaks down, each point made by the defendant only interposed for delay or vexation, being unsustained by the evidence produced.

A term of three or four weeks is thus occupied in trying fifteen to twenty cases out of the hundred—(not often however, trying so many of them.) Parties in other cases marked for trial, seeing no probability at the end of the second or third week of the arrival of their turn for trial, agree to continue their cases and discharge their witnesses after having had them in attendance for several days, and our plaintiff does the same. The same proceeding is had

at the next and several next succeeding terms, at each of which a new portion of the old cases is marked for trial, a few tried, some settled and more continued again.

Our plaintiff thus finds his case as far, apparently, from trial at the end of two years, as at first. Out of all patience with the courts, hating the law and condemning the lawyers, he finally, after paying his witnesses and other costs, at each term for two or three years, offers to lose all that and perhaps to take FIFTY per cent. of his demand, if by so doing he can only get clear of the law—if the defendant, his debtor, will thus let him get out of court and be free from the harassing anxiety and tedious watchings of a law suit. Or, perhaps he perseveres, and after a while a trial is had and he begins to think that justice is sure though tardy; but when he seems just in the possession of his right by the verdict of a jury, some legal objection—some point of law—is made against his case, not its merits, but to some incident in the course of the trial or other matter entirely foreign to the real justice of the case, which prolongs the delay, sends him to another court, adds to the expense, and which FIXED point of law will perhaps ultimately and forever defeat his just claim.

By proceeding in this manner not more than one case in fifty is disposed of by a *BONA FIDE* trial. If the other cases deserve or are designed for trial, there ought to be an opportunity for trial without so much delay and expense; and if they do not require an investigation by a jury they ought not to incumber the docket more than one term. Of course there is then manifest injustice in the manner in which they are disposed of or in the cruel delay and needless expense to which the party is subjected before he can have a trial.

Parties having just and legal claims are as effectually precluded from a remedy by this course of procedure as they would be were there no courts at all. A litigious defendant having no defence at all sits down to watch the plaintiff's proof, to find a gap if possible through which perhaps he may escape from a just claim; and requires the plaintiff to prove his whole case with particularity though in so doing he must occupy much time and cause great expense to himself and the Commonwealth in proving facts which the defendant does not doubt or knows to be true, but still demands the proof of. The court cannot interfere with such a course

of defence, because it is but the exercise of the defendant's **LEGAL** right, a right which the court must respect though it be a right to do wrong and defeat justice, and to do this too at the expense of hundreds of dollars to the Commonwealth, and when the party knows that his whole course in the matter is dishonest and would be unjustifiable but for the fact that the law allows him to take it.

A defendant, knowing his power thus to postpone the final settlement of the case, and harass the plaintiff, adopts the course of insisting upon all his legal rights for the very purpose of defeating justice and compelling the injured party to relinquish his right or compromise his claim, as a matter of economy and comfort, upon unconscionable terms. And our present mode of proceeding favors a litigious plaintiff equally well. He has an opportunity to institute proceedings on his own choice or caprice or ill will against another, and the defendant, who has been in no fault, has to submit to all the vexations, delay and expense to which such a plaintiff can now successfully subject a defendant under the present mode of administering justice.

The Court cannot see the futility of the plaintiff's claim or defendant's defence until the case is put on trial, and before that time the injured party is so vexed at the delay and expense, that he is willing to bear all that he has borne, rather than go on so far and long as he must go, to obtain a legal determination of the matter in his favor, **PERHAPS**.

Injured parties fear the law—are afraid to resort to the tribunals for a vindication of rights or redress of wrongs, however clearly their claims can be established. Many such, as every practitioner well knows, prefer to suffer repeated injuries and losses, and to bear many wrongs, rather than get involved in a suit, even with a **CLEAR** case, with its long delay, harassing attendance upon Court, a heavy expense beyond the amount recoverable of the wrong doer, and with no certainty after all that a most meritorious and equitable claim may not be lost by some rule of law—a barren technicality—or one fruitful only of mischief—which may be very correct in principle, and well enough as an abstraction, but the universal application of which generally causes injustice. Parties having no merits often insist upon a trial in the hope that they shall obtain some misdirection of the judge on a point of law applicable only to the course of the trial, or on an incidental matter, and not affecting

the real merits of the case, which will give them the advantage, the LEGAL advantage, over parties having ALL the merits.

This is a correct but incomplete view of the delay, expensiveness and injustice of our judicial proceedings.

Now, how can an increase in the number of the judges or in their salaries eradicate these evils? How would an increase in the number or length of the terms obviate the difficulties in these proceedings which the judges have now no power to remove or exclude? The evils are inseparable from the system; and the wisest and most prudent means of ascertaining the best remedy would certainly be that recommended by the Suffolk Bar last winter—the appointment of a Commissioner to consider and report upon the whole subject of legal remedies—the organization and jurisdiction of the tribunals, and especially upon the manner of proceeding. Material amendments are requisite in both their jurisdiction and procedure, and nothing less than such amendments will cure the present evils.

ESSEX.

In 1848 the old Whig party received the nomination of Gen. Taylor, for president with much dissatisfaction. This was increased by the speech of Daniel Webster in 1850, in favor of the repeal of the Missouri compromise. The Free Soil element in the Whig party bolted the nomination of Gen. Taylor, and put a Free Soil ticket in nomination for state officers, and the speech of Mr. Webster excluded all hope of a reunion.

I wrote a criticism of that speech which was published in the Salem GAZETTE, as follows:—

MR. EDITOR—Mr. Webster has been so much encouraged by the apparent approval of some of his former acts of apostacy by some of our prominent citizens, that he has taken another step in the same adverse course, and has again betrayed Massachusetts and disregarded the principles which she has recently and explicitly declared to be such as she expected her representatives to sustain and insist upon.

We allude to his vote for Mr. Soule's amendment of the omnibus bill, which amendment is as follows:—"And when the said territory" (of Utah and New Mexico) "or any portion of the same shall

be admitted as a state, it shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission."

Now, Mr. Editor, it is easy to see what this amendment amounts to. It gives the people of these territories the legal power to institute slavery by their constitutions, and to establish it where it now has no legal existence. It also gives them a right to admission as states, with slaves, although the future Congress by which the act of admission may be passed should desire to exclude new slave states.

Mr. Clay and many others at the South, and nearly all at the North, hold that slavery has now no legal existence in these territories, and that it can be introduced there only by positive enactment. Such is Mr. Webster's opinion. In his recent Kennebec letter, he says:—"Slavery does not exist there." that "It is altogether abolished."

But this amendment, by necessary implication, clearly gives these territories the legal power to make constitutions which shall CREATE HUMAN SLAVERY!—to legally establish it where these Senators say it has now no legal existence!

And Daniel Webster votes for this! votes, too, to give these territories the same right to demand admission as slave states which he says Texas has, on the division of her territory, to come in with four more such states! He is not now content with voting against the Wilmot Proviso—with doing nothing to exclude slavery; he votes to give authority to these territories—to territories now free—to originate and establish this great wrong, and the right to come into the Union with it hereafter without objection!

Surely, sir, Massachusetts has fallen—miserably fallen—from her position and principles, if she permits her Senator to sustain such a measure as this and does not make him feel the reproof of her rebuke, and the weight of the censure of her indignant and defrauded sons.

But it cannot be that the men of Massachusetts will see the measure sustained in their name, by one to whom they have delegated their power for a while, without seeking and demanding an opportunity of repudiating both the measure and its supporter.

Perhaps no expression of the opinion of Massachusetts would induce Mr. Webster to leave the place he holds, or to surrender the

power he misuses. He may be under stipulated obligations to others, which obligations he is to fulfill to the letter, although it be done in utter disregard of what is due to our feelings, opinions and principles, and although it lead to defeat of the measure which the people of this Commonwealth deem necessary and just for themselves and their country.

The motives and interests which have prompted or induced Mr. Webster to enter upon the course he has taken will be neither weakened or lessened, nor suffered to lag for want of stimulation, while the urgency of the crisis requires him, in the pursuits of the objects he has in view, to betray still more ignobly those principles of personal freedom which are interwoven with our feelings, our morality and our religion, as well as with our interests and politics.

We therefore may not hope, even, by any manifestation of dissent, to change him from the course he has entered upon. But we owe it to ourselves—to our character, our principles and our history, to express dissent of the State—of the people generally—to the iniquitous course he is pursuing under the power and honor he has received at our hands for higher and holier purposes than he now seeks thereby.

His action upon this subject is of sufficient importance to call out a loud tone of indignant rebuke from the people of this State, by remonstrance or otherwise. The occasion demands it.—And under a proper and discreet mode of obtaining the expression of the feeling and judgement of Massachusetts men in regard to his conduct, we are sure there would be such a manifestation of their disapprobation—of its force, unanimity and character—as would crush politically, morally, and forever, any public man who lives in power by their favor and thus abandons their principles, and to render it certain that her sons have principles in regard to the extension of slavery which they cherish and will sustain against all opponents, and which none of our public servants can deride in vain or disregard with impunity.

Our observation has not been very limited, nor is our recollection very brief; and yet we have never known the heart and nerve of our people so universally and deeply moved, on any occasion or question, as they are at this time in regard to the conduct of Mr. Webster. We hope that feeling will find an appropriate utterance.

A.

With three parties engaged in the election in 1851, there was a failure to choose a Governor by the people, a majority being then required, and the election devolved on the legislature; but a few years later neither of these parties had a majority in the legislature. In this condition of parties, a coalition was formed of the Democrats and Free Soilers under the terms of which Boutwell was chosen governor by the aid of the Free Soil voters and Sumner was chosen to the U. S. Senate by the aid of Democratic votes on the twenty-sixth ballot; and the old Whig party lost its name and existence.

Many of the older, conservative members of the party thereafter acting with the Democrats, and the younger and more radical falling into the ranks of the Free Soil party, and thus the party now called Republican.

I never approved of this coalition—this barter of principles for success, and would take no part in the caucuses or meetings in which the trading was made.

In 1851 my mother died. I had been the only member of her family from the time I returned to Ipswich in 1830; all her other children being married and having homes of their own, and on her death the old home was closed and I went to the hotel to board.

I soon found that I could get no sleep there, with my asthmatic affliction, where feather beds and pillows were used, nor even on hair mattresses and pillows, if the bed clothing had been used on such beds, I therefore furnished a chamber over my office for a lodging room, taking my meals at the hotel for six years.

In 1857 a married friend who had been very intimate with me from my boyhood, offered to let me have such rooms as I needed in his house, about midway between my land and my office, and to have me take my meals with his family if I desired. I accepted this offer—furnished the rooms to suit

my own taste and necessities, taking my meals with his family. I had a very comfortable and happy home for seven years. In 1864 the ill health of his wife was such that my removal was desirable.

I was chosen a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1853 by the united action of all the three parties.

When the convention met, it was found to be composed largely of men from the small towns who had been elected by the coalition party, many of whom were poorly qualified for the position and led by a few political leaders, who determined before-hand in a party caucus what policy or measures should be supported by the party and what should be rejected.

I did not attend any of their caucuses, nor did I take any part in the debates, except upon one subject—the system of representation.

My speech on that subject attracted much attention and commendation at the time and is thought worthy of a place here, and it follows below as printed in the Debates and Proceedings of the House:—

MR. HASKELL, of Ipswich. Notwithstanding the diversity of opinion, upon the subject now under consideration, I suppose we shall all agree to one proposition—that unless some plan may be devised, which shall be more just, equal, and more acceptable to the people than the present system, it will be better for us to retain the old system as it is. Most of the gentlemen who have addressed the Convention, seem to have taken it for granted that the present system is obnoxious, in a great degree, to the people, and that there is no danger of our framing a worse system. I do not concur in that view, or in the opinion which has been so frequently expressed, that there is great injustice and inequality in that system. I propose now to make a very

brief examination of the plan proposed by the gentleman from Lowell, (Mr. Butler,) compare it with the existing system, and see if it obviates any of the objections which have been urged by the gentleman for Erving, (Mr. Griswold,) against the present system. The first objection to the present system, which was suggested by the gentleman for Erving, if I recollect aright, was, that it was too complicated. Is it as complicated as the proposition now submitted by the gentleman from Lowell, (Mr. Butler)? I contend that it is not.

By the present basis, one sum is given as the number to entitle a town to one representative; another sum is fixed as the mean increasing ratio for additional representatives, and another sum is given, by which the population of towns not entitled to one representative, is to be divided, and the quotient thus obtained determines the number of representatives they are to be entitled to in each ten years. We have, then, three fixed or certain numbers given for these purposes, and the provision is, that for every 70,000 increase in the population of the State, (10 per cent. on the census of 1840,) 10 per cent. is to be added to each of these given numbers. I submit, there is not any great complication in this matter, and that any man can sit down with the census and Constitution of Massachusetts before him, and operating with the simple rules of arithmetic, can apportion the representation in a very short time. Can it be done as easily by the plan of the gentleman from Lowell? I must confess that I have given this subject a careful and candid attention, and I am hardly able to see the results, which the gentleman from Lowell is inclined to think will be realized, from the adoption of his system. The provision of the first resolution in his plan is, that every town of a less number than one thousand inhabitants, shall be entitled to five representatives in

ten years, etc.; then there are four degrees of the sliding scale in the ratio of increase, by which the representation increases, not by any regular percentage, according to the increase of population in the State, but by an arbitrary rule, in which the town is in some measure deprived of its power in proportion to the increase of its population.

The second resolution in the plan of the gentleman from Lowell, (Mr. Butler,) is a very complicated one indeed, and I would defy any gentleman of this Convention, except the gentleman from Lowell, to sit down and tell me what the result will be ten years hence, of the sliding-scale part of the basis laid down there. It provides, that "in all apportionments after the first, the numbers which shall entitle any city or town to two, three, four or more representatives, shall be so adjusted in proportion hereinafter provided, that the whole number of representatives, exclusive of those which may be returned by towns of less than one thousand inhabitants, and towns incorporated after this provision shall be adopted, shall never exceed three hundred and seventy."

Now, Sir, there are various ways in which this apportionment may be 'adjusted.' I have found that it might be "ADJUSTED," (not proportionately increased,) as in the manner before specified," so as to present very different results. There are two or three other elements which must always enter into the apportionment of the House, upon the plan proposed by the gentleman from Lowell. The date of the incorporation of a town must be ascertained; the town subject to loss, on their representation, must be computed, so as to have the ratio increased to such an extent as to keep the number below the maximum. It is more complicated—infinitely more so, than any system we have yet had, as experience will show, if it is adopted, and decidedly

more complicated than the present system.

Again, it is suggested by the gentleman for Erving, that there is a great loss by fractions under the present system. He made out the loss to be 140,000. Now, I take it for granted, that we do lose by the present system, and I am willing to take the estimate at 140,000. I have made an estimate of the loss by fractions under the system proposed by the gentleman from Lowell, and I find that the loss by fractions is nearly double what it is under the present system. I have all the details, and they are more surprising than the aggregate. I find that, according to the proposition of the gentleman from Lowell, the loss, in the aggregate, will be 277,060, nearly double the loss by fractions under the present system.

But I ask the attention of the Convention for a moment or two to the details of this comparison. Where does the loss chiefly fall under the system now proposed? In general terms, I may say that two hundred and eleven towns, entitled to one representative each will lose in the aggregate 205,089, making a fraction of nearly one thousand on an average, for each town; while the city of Lowell, which sends eight representatives, loses only a fraction of six hundred and twenty. If this is equal representation I must confess I have not been able to understand it. Lowell seems to be entitled to the lion's share in the system proposed by the gentleman from Lowell, as the county of Franklin was in that proposed by the delegate for Erving. Lowell loses by a fraction, only 620, while the two hundred and eleven towns which send only one representative each, lose nearly one thousand each, or almost double what is lost by Lowell, which sends eight.

To carry the matter further:—

Boston, having	28 Rep.	has a fraction of	1,788
Lowell, " 8 "	"	"	620
Salem and Roxbury	5 "	each have	3,264
Five cities, having	4 "	"	15,877
Seven towns, "	3 "	"	11,635
Thirty towns, "	2 "	"	38,787
Two hundred and eleven towns	one each,		205,089

277,060

The Convention will see that the middle sized towns, sending but two representatives, and those smaller, sending only one, lose almost the whole. They lose, in the aggregate, more than 240,000, more than 100,000 above the amount lost by the present system, in all the Commonwealth, according to the statement made by the delegate from Erving. And yet this plan is put forth on the ground that there is a great loss by fractions under the present system. Gentlemen will see that there is nothing gained by the system proposed by the gentleman from Lowell, in respect to losses by fractions. Nearly all the loss will fall upon the small towns, and it will greatly exceed the present loss. I submit that it is no improvement over the present basis in this particular.

Then there is another objection to the present plan, suggested by the gentleman from Erving. I refer to his objections because he stated them with more particularity than other gentlemen have stated their's. The objection is, that all the towns are not represented. This, I think, is a very serious objection to any system. I agree in what has been said as to the right of every portion of the community to be represented every year. I believe it is their right, and I think it is the duty of this Convention to make such a provision,

that every portion of the Commonwealth shall be represented on the floor of the House of Representatives every year. I do not know by what right the majority of this Convention may prescribe that any portion of the people shall not be represented half the time. I do not see the philosophy of the principle, or the justice of the doctrine upon which such a system is supported. But does the proposition, submitted by the gentleman from Lowell, obviate the objection to the present system entirely, in this respect? I do not know the precise number of the towns which are entitled to representation by their fractions; I know, however, that under the present system it is larger than it would be under the system proposed by the gentleman from Lowell. But, if the principle is bad in one case it is just as bad in the other. The plan submitted by him does, perhaps, obviate the evil in a measure, but it permits the pernicious principle still remain as a portion of the Constitution of the Commonwealth. As a member of the legislature in 1839, when the present system was discussed and adopted, I voted for it; but it was under a sort of necessity and as a matter of compromise. I am not now prepared to vote for any system, either that proposed by the gentleman from Erving, or that proposed by the gentleman from Lowell, which shall deprive any portion of the Commonwealth of representation every year. I think the basis of representation ought to be so arranged, that the right of every person to representation, every year, shall be secured.

The proposition of the gentleman from Lowell, does, in a measure, correct that evil in the present system; but still leaves some 45,000 inhabitants unrepresented half the time. The same objection exists, then, to the proposition of the gentleman from Lowell as to the present system, and I do not see that the amendment is any better in principle,

in this respect, than the present system.

Another objection is, that the votes of the people do not have an equal force. The same remarks, just now made, with regard to the objection that all are not represented, apply here. The amendment now proposed, contemplates that there shall be a provision in the Constitution by which one man may vote for two or three representatives, and another, in the small towns, may vote for only one, and that a citizen of a fractional town shall only vote for a representative once in two years, or half a representative each year, if the power is distributed over a term of ten years. It seems to me there is an inequality here; and though the proposition submitted by the gentleman from Lowell, lessens this evil in some degree, it is still permitted to remain. He proposes that in the cities districts shall be formed, and the voters have their right to vote for two or three representatives. Under this system, as now, there will be a very unequal power exercised by the voters. One person will have a right to vote for three representatives, another for two, and another only for one, and another for one every other year. I think the present system is obnoxious to this objection, and that a citizen of Boston ought not to have a right to vote for forty-four representatives, while I have the right to vote for but one. I know of no rule of logic or mathematics by which these capacities can be reduced to an equal power. But the objection applies to one system as well as the other, and if the principle is wrong in the present Constitution, it is equally wrong in the system proposed by the gentleman from Lowell; and, although his plan reduces the evil, it is still objectionable in principle.

Then, again, it is objected that by the present basis all the power will be absorbed by the large towns and cities. Why so? Not because the principle is wrong? The

gentleman from Northampton, (Mr. Huntington,) and others who have stated this objection, have complained of the result, but have not objected to the principle or claimed that it is not equal, for if it is unequal it is clearly so to the disadvantage of the large towns only ; and, Sir, when it was adopted in the legislature of 1839, the gentleman from Boston, whom I do not see in the hall, (Mr. Gray,) objected that it was prejudicial to the rights of the city.

But it is said that the results are different from what was contemplated, and that its operation was not understood by its framers. I believe the legislature that passed it discussed it for a long time, and I think that they understood it as well as gentlemen here who have condemned it so severely. It was before that legislature for several months and thoroughly considered ; and it was finally carried, as the gentleman from Northampton (Mr. Huntington) has said, as a compromise between the opinions and wishes of the city and country members.

But it is said that, by the present system, the large towns will absorb all the electoral power. Why so ? How ? Only by the increase of population. Well, ought not the power to go where the people go ? I have been used to hearing the doctrine taught, and especially by the teachers of democracy throughout the Commonwealth, that the power resided in the people, that it is inherent in the people, and derived from the people. I do not know what consistency there is in conduct which undertakes to exclude the people from the exercise of that power, or how action of any political party, which professes to act in accordance with this principle, can prevent the power from going where the people go. If it is inherent in the people, it must go where the people go, and dwell where they dwell, whether it be in town or city. By the very great increase of population in the cities and large

towns, it seems to be feared that they will absorb all the political power in the Commonwealth, and acquire a majority of the representation in the House of Representatives. There is a limit to this. Boston cannot double her resident, domiciled population. Her limits forbid it. Already she begins to overflow. A large portion of her population is already seeking its abode in the surrounding towns, not only in the suburbs but in more remote localities.

Almost all the future increase of the population in the Commonwealth must be in the middling sized and small towns. By the basis adopted in 1839 there is an inequality, and it is AGAINST the cities. By the basis then adopted, a town of 1,200 inhabitants was entitled to one representative; one of 3,000 inhabitants was entitled to two, and so on. Thus, by a sliding scale and different ratio for the small and large towns, the disparity of representation increases, to the disadvantage of the large towns as the population increases.

It starts with a disparity of 1,200 to 3,600, (one to three,) and these numbers are to be increased together by a uniform percentage. It must follow, that as these numbers of 1,200 and 3,600 are augmented the disparity increase.

Suppose that in 1860, or 1870, or 1880, the population of the State should double the amount that it was when the ratio was fixed in 1840. Then twenty-four hundred will be the number which will entitle any town to one representative every year, and seventy-two hundred to send a second representative. The small town must gain 1,200 to retain its one representative, and the large town must gain 3,600 to retain its two representatives, and so on. That is the only inequality after all. A large town will have to gain two inhabitants to get an additional representative, or hold its number; whereas a town which has only one repre-

sentative, or a fractional representation, has to gain one inhabitant only to retain its representation. The large towns and cities have to increase twice as fast as a small town to maintain their relative position. How is this objection, as to the absorption of power, obviate by the proposition of the gentleman from Lowell? He limits it so that there is no danger of the large towns gaining too much power. That is effectually guarded against. But the predominance of the small towns is just as effectually secured. The proposition as to the large towns is, that "in all the apportionments after the first, the numbers which shall entitle any city or town to two, three, four, or more representatives, shall be adjudged, in proportion, as hereinbefore provided, that the whole number of representatives, exclusive of those which may be returned by towns of less than one thousand inhabitants, and towns incorporated after this provision is adopted, shall never exceed three hundred and seventy."

Now, Sir, what will be the effect of this provision? Will it prevent the accumulation and absorption of power in some portions of the Commonwealth, at the expense of other portions? I find, upon the basis submitted by the gentleman from Lowell, that forty-six cities and towns, entitled to more than one representative, will send one hundred and forty-seven representatives, according to the first apportionment; and there are sixty-four towns which will, at first, be entitled to but thirty-two representatives, but which will, undoubtedly, become large enough in population, before long, to entitle them to one representative each; which result will take them from the exception as to the maximum, and it will require thirty-two representatives more to supply their constitutional quota; and then there are seven towns, incorporated since 1850, for which no provision is made, as I understand, in the proposition submitted

by the gentleman from Lowell, and which are not in the exception as to the maximum of three hundred and seventy. That will make thirty-nine rights of representation hereafter to be provided with representatives, and the representatives to supply which, must be taken from the three hundred and seventy now granted to the large towns and cities. But the provision is, that they must be taken from towns entitled to two or more, and these thirty-nine must therefore be taken from the forty-six towns and cities having one hundred and forty-seven representatives; and that will cut down the number, one hundred and forty-seven, to one hundred and eight, leaving to such towns and cities, having more than one-half the population, but little more than one-fourth the representation. The large towns and cities will then, in the course of time, and that not far distant, be deprived of a large amount of their representation, and it will be awarded to the smaller towns which have succeeded in mustering one thousand inhabitants. The objection of the gentleman from Erving, that by the operation of the present system, the power is to go to the large towns and cities, where the present population has been tending for many years past, is, after all, more than counterbalanced by a smaller objection to the proposition of the gentleman from Lowell. The political power, by that system, is going to the small towns, and the injustice will be done to the large towns and cities, which may have increased in a greater proportion than the small ones. I submit, that there is no improvement here; that the political power is going from the many to the few, from the large towns to the rural districts, and the very small towns, which contain only one thousand inhabitants. It is more unequal, in my opinion, than the present basis can ever be.

But, Sir, the objection that the amendment submitted by

the gentleman from Lowell, will be ineffectual to obviate the difficulties which exist in the present system, is but a small part of the objection which I have to this amendment; this is a trifling objection, compared with the objection which, to my mind, will be, of all others, the one that will have most influence against the proposition in the minds of the people; and that is, it does not reduce the size of the House. Now, Sir, I think I know something of the desire and expectation of the people in that part of the country in which I reside, both of the large towns and of the small towns, as well as the rural districts as in the cities; and although I do not wish to make any prediction with regard to the matter, as the gentleman who sits near me, (Mr. Keyes,) often does—and if I could succeed in making predictions as well as he does, I certainly would make the attempt—yet I may be permitted to express the opinion, that whatever basis of representation may be adopted by this Convention, and submitted to the people, if it does not reduce the number of the House materially, it will be rejected by them. I think that there is danger that we shall lose other desired reforms in our Constitution, if we adopt some of the propositions which have been submitted here, by a failure to meet the expectations of the people upon this point. I must confess, Mr. President, that I have been surprised by the remarks which have fallen from some gentlemen here, as to the advantage of having a large number of members in the House of Representatives. I think that those gentlemen who express that opinion, cannot have been here when we had such large houses, as I have sometimes seen; for, on some occasions there has been a great deal of inconvenience experienced from this cause, upon the floor. I have been here when there were five hundred and thirty-nine members in the House, and I would not want to come here again, if I come

at all, to sit in a House of that size. There has been a change in the accommodations since that time, and the seats have been enlarged and widened, so that gentlemen do not now sit so close and crowded, by a great deal, as they did then. As to the dispatch of public business, I cannot agree with those who think that it was more expeditiously or properly performed in a House consisting of five or six hundred members, than it would be in a House of only half that number. I think, Mr. President, that it is a very serious objection to the proposition now before the Convention, that it increases the number by reducing the basis. By the present existing provisions of the Constitution, the number is necessarily limited; I do not mean that there is any express provision of the subject, but as the ratio is fixed, it is impossible that the numbers should exceed certain limits. The ratio will increase just in proportion to the increase of population, which must necessarily keep it down to just about the existing number. Or, if anything, it tends to keep down the size of the House, because, as the ratio entitling a town to representation increases, the fractions may be larger, so that under the existing system the tendency is to reduce the House. But the proportion now submitted will increase the number of members something like one hundred—ninety-four—I believe; and not only that, but it permits its indefinite extension hereafter, at least so far as the thirty-nine members from the new and fractional towns may be entitled to seats. I must confess that I do not fully understand the practical operation of the sliding scale in the proposition of the gentleman from Lowell; but one thing is clear, it does not diminish the House of Representatives, or confine it to anything like the present number, but it positively increases it to something like ninety-four over the present basis. I think it is a very serious objection, when we are undertaking to

make a new basis, that it should increase the number of members instead of reducing them.

There is another objection to his proposition, and that is, that it will put the government into the hands of a minority of the people of the Commonwealth. I suppose it is too late in the day—that it is quite unnecessary—for me to say, that the minority who reside in the rural districts ought not to have the whole power of the Commonwealth ; no one claims that they should have it, expressly ; but this system will give it to them. This plan which is proposed by the gentleman from Lowell assuredly puts the power into the hands of the minority of the people. I have looked at it carefully, and I will give the Convention the result of my investigation. I find, as I have already said, that there will be forty-six cities and towns which are entitled to more than one representative each, and which, in the aggregate, contain a population of 511,870, and which will be entitled to one hundred and forty-seven representatives. Then, Sir, if we add forty-seven to that number, for forty-seven towns which contain a population of 143,420, and which are entitled to one representative each, we shall have one hundred and ninety-four representatives for a population of 655,290. Here is more than two-thirds of the population of the State, and they would have just one less than half the representation of the State ; while sixty-four small towns having a fractional representation, and one hundred and sixty-four towns choosing one representative each, with a population of only 318,425, would choose one hundred and ninety-six representatives, being a majority of the House of Representatives ; and thus, as I have stated, the majority of the House would be chosen by less than one-third of the people of the Commonwealth. But I need not extend my remarks on this point ; I will simply re-state these facts, in order that they may be impressed

upon the minds of the gentlemen of this body. I want every member of this Convention to remember that if we adopt this proposition, 318,425 of the inhabitants of the Commonwealth, will choose a majority of the House of Representatives, while 655,290, or more than double that number, will choose less than half of the members of the House. This is not the whole inequality of the system, that it effectually puts the whole control of the House of Representatives in the hands of a minority of the people of the Commonwealth. I find a still greater inequality when I come to ascertain the ratio by which these different parts of the Commonwealth will be represented. Forty-six cities and towns, which choose one hundred and forty-six representatives, will have one representative for 3,482 inhabitants, while two hundred and twenty-eight towns, which will choose one hundred and ninety-six representatives, will have one representative for every 1,114 inhabitants. The towns which thus hold the control of the House of Representatives, and which choose a majority of its members, will thus have a representative to every 1,114 inhabitants, while the forty-six cities and towns, embracing more than half the population of the State, will only have one representative to 3,482 inhabitants—less than one-third their equal proportion with the small towns! Now, I do not wish to argue to an intelligent body like this, that such a proposition is unjust, or that it is unequal. There is no reason, I apprehend, that gentlemen can assign for such a proposition, unless it is designed to base the power of government upon something else besides the people. Unless such a principle is assumed, there is no reason whatever in giving the control of the House of Representatives to a minority of the people, and of giving the representatives of the country three times as much political power as you give those who represent the cities and the large towns.

There is another objection to the proposition—that it violates the true democratic principle—the principle upon which the government and the institutions of our country are recognized as being founded. And in order, Mr. President, that there may be no misapprehension as to what I understand to be the democratic principle, which is the foundation of all republican institutions, I am happy to have the authority of several gentlemen upon this floor, who have laid down what I conceive to be the correct doctrine upon this subject. I am not, therefore, compelled to go back to the “fathers of our country,” nor even to those “fossils,” who have been alluded to as yet living among us ; but I am very happy in being able to find authority for the position which I take, among the progressive democracy in this body. It has been said, Sir, upon this floor, “that the principle of republicanism is that the majority shall govern. The moment you depart from that principle and place the government in the hands of one man less than a majority, you have no republican government.”

I consider this good doctrine, and I quote it, not for the purpose of making objections to it, but I adopt it as embodying my own views and opinions upon this matter.

We have heard it said here in different quarters, that the majority should govern, and the idea has been often repeated in different forms, that the moment we depart from this principle, and place the government in the hands of one man less than a majority, we have no republican government. I believe that, Sir ; and now I would inquire, if this system of representation which is proposed by the gentleman from Lowell, illustrated as I have endeavored to illustrate it by reference to figures and to facts, does not conflict with this principle ? I cannot reconcile it with this principle at all. It appears to me that any fair exhibit of the

proposition of the gentleman from Lowell will show that the adoption of that system would place the government in the hands of more than a hundred thousand less than a majority of the people of this Commonwealth; and by so doing it would be "departing from the very fundamental principle upon which a republican government is based." There is the declaration, and I hold it to be incontrovertible, that "if we adopt a rule which puts the power into the hands of one man less than a majority, we have no republican government," because the fundamental principle upon which it rests is departed from and abandoned. Now, Sir, I ask, whether this Convention, which claims to be a reform Convention, is disposed to take a step backwards and give this power to a minority of the people, although they may be landholders? We have more agriculturists in the town I represent than any other class; we have no manufacturing corporations there—not one, Sir; and that place has grown all that it has grown, (which is very little, I admit) within the last ten years, it has managed to keep along at any rate, through the farming interest, and to send abroad its products—not of manufactures but MINDS—to fertilize and enrich other fields of human thought and action. I come from one of the rural districts, where, if the power is to be placed in the hands of the few, I agree it ought to be put; but is it right to give it to the few even there? There is no desire, in my judgment, in the rural districts, to have a system perpetuated which is at war with the fundamental principles of republican government; and which, I believe, would be the tendency and effect of the introduction of any system similar to that which is proposed by the gentleman from Lowell. Another branch of the same doctrine of republicanism is as eloquently and ably laid down in the argument of the gentleman for Wilberham, (Mr. Hallett,) before quoted. He said,

“that the people may prescribe that less than a majority shall rule, is not a republican doctrine.” I agree to this. And it is a direct answer and refutation of the position taken by the gentleman for Berlin, (Mr. Boutwell,) the other day. Now, Sir, suppose that this Convention should adopt a rule that the minority of the people of the Commonwealth, living in the rural districts, and in the small towns, should have a predominant influence and vote in the legislature of the Commonwealth, and suppose that a majority of the people should assent to it; if the principle here laid down is correct, it could not be a republican government, because it is not a republican doctrine that the representatives of a minority may exercise the power to make changes in the laws even if the majority should consent to give the minority power to elect them. The executive and administrative functions of government are, of course, performed by a small part of the people ; but it is the exercise of power delegated by a majority of the whole, and not a minority. But when you come to organize a body whose powers and acts affect the rights of ALL within the State by the exercise of sovereignty in the institution of laws for the government of all, I apprehend that that can never be justly done by less than the will and choice of a majority of the people ; and that a majority of the people can not now deprive any future majority of their rights by saying that any minority may govern by the institution of laws. But that is not the only authority which I can produce among the able and eloquent speakers of this body, to prove that the system of representation which is proposed by the gentleman from Lowell conflicts directly with the principles of democratic government and our republican institutions. We have the same doctrine laid down by the gentleman from Natick, as follows:—

“Government exists by the consent of the people—the ma-

jority of the people—who alone can give their consent.

“Whenever or wherever we depart from that idea, whether we adopt the plurality rule, or any other rule which allows less than a majority to rule, we depart from that fundamental democratic principle—that American idea—underlying all our American institutions. Nor would the assent of the people to have a minority of the people govern make it any less anti-democratic.”

I cordially agree to that doctrine; and I ask if it is not the effect of the proposition of the gentleman from Lowell to “allow less than a majority to rule?” Does not that basis depart from “the American idea underlying all our American institutions?” I have stated that the doctrine quoted is my belief exactly; and now all I ask is, that gentlemen in this Convention who have advanced such views will adhere to that principle when they come to vote upon the question. But in order to get rid of this difficulty, gentlemen tell us that if we adopt what we do, no matter whether it places the power in the hands of a majority or of a minority, it is democratic, because the majority of the people assent to it.

I deny this proposition, Sir, altogether. Suppose we should choose an emperor, and submit our action to the people, and the people assent to it and agree to his authority, that would be a democratic and republican institution and government! That is just what the argument amounts to. The principle leads to the conclusion. Now I think that the influence based upon that argument is wholly unfounded. I fully agree with the propositions which have been again and again repeated here, that the government must rest in a majority of the people; and I ask those gentlemen who have advanced this idea, to act in accordance with it, and show, by their vote on the proposition of the gentleman from Lowell, that

they mean to abide by their professions; or, at any rate, if they do not concur with my deductions, as to the effect of that proposition; I wish them to show how the principle and proposition can be reconciled, that we may have the benefit of the rule of their action to aid us. As it seems to me, it conflicts directly with the democratic principle "underlying" our form of government, and it cannot be denied that it gives the government to a minority of the people. I believe the most of us claim to be reformers, (and I have been classed with them); we have come here to reform the Constitution, and I believe this is one of the points where a reform is needed: and I hope, therefore, that in the formation of the fundamental law of the Commonwealth, we shall not take such a long, disproportionate stride backwards, as to let the minority of the people have control of the legislature. I am not ready for that. I object to the proposition of the gentleman from Lowell, upon that ground, and I hope it will be rejected.

There is still another objection to it, and that is that it is unjust. It is well, Sir, for communities as well as for individuals, to look occasionally—once in a while, at least—at fundamental principles, that we may direct our steps aright, and shape our course in wisdom. If we neglect to do so, we soon wander in darkness and doubt.

Now, all we know that, owing to the peculiar constitution of this Convention, having come here, as we have, on the basis of valuation year, the small towns hold the balance of power, and control the proceedings of this body; and let me appeal to gentlemen representing those towns—is it right and just for us, from the small towns, having the power as we have here, to say to our neighbors from the cities and large towns, "you shall not have as much power in the legislature of the Commonwealth as we have?" For

one, Sir, I am not ready to say this. I think the interest and prosperity of the large towns and cities are infinitely more connected with, and dependent upon, the legislation of the State, than the interest of the small town is. We care but little if you do reduce the representation of the towns to its just and fair proportion, if you leave us the township system in all its integrity and power. And I do not consider the choosing of a representative a necessary function of a town, or a right of a municipality, as I understand it. Let all the power which we have in the legislature, be that which justly belongs to us, and it is all that we ask. For if we have the township system we can get along very well without any legislature. All the great interests of the social state would be protected, without the aid of a legislature. The country towns are not so much effected by the action of the legislature as the cities are. Indeed, we are in the habit of boasting—or I am—of our independence of the legislation of the State, and that it makes but little difference to us what they do or undo. We do not care much what goes on here generally. Now and then they pass a liquor law or a railroad loan, that excites us a little; but, with few exceptions, the proceedings of the legislature affect us but little, either for the better or worse. The great and general amount of legislation, (and a great deal too much,) is for the interest and business of the inhabitants of the cities and large towns, which are a great deal more effected by the results of the legislation of the Commonwealth in their welfare and their pursuits, than the inhabitants of the rural districts can be. Is it then just or right, for us from the rural districts, to control the legislature? Can any member from the rural districts reconcile it with his conscience, to say that these small towns shall hereafter hold and exercise the power of the House of Rep-

representatives, and the large towns and cities shall have only one-third their equal right and power? I do not know how he can justify himself in so doing; I cannot justify myself for my part. As I said before, I hope our friends from the rural districts will look at the principles of justice and equity, rather than to political considerations and expediency, in matters relating to the important business we are now doing. I think, Sir, that it is a serious objection, that the proposition of the gentleman from Lowell will deprive a large part, the MAJORITY, of the inhabitants of the Commonwealth, according to the census of 1850, of two-thirds of their just and equal proportion of power in the legislation of the Commonwealth, when their interests are so much more affected by it than the interests of the rural districts.

But, Sir, although I am disposed to vote to make the plan submitted by the gentleman from Lowell, as perfect as possible—and for that purpose I shall vote for the amendment offered by the gentleman from Northampton, (Mr. Huntington,)—I shall vote against that and every other scheme submitted which does not tend to reduce the House, and which will not give every voter in the Commonwealth an equal power at the polls, and every part of the Commonwealth represented every year.

MR. BUTLER. I desire to ask the gentleman if he is in favor of the present plan.

MR. HASKELL. In preference to any other system which has been proposed, except the district system. There is another reason why I think we ought to adhere to the present system. I have already alluded to some of the proceedings and views of the legislature of 1839, upon the subject, and if the Convention will excuse me, I will detain them a single moment in regard to the manner of the introduction of the present system before the legislature. I think I am

correct in the facts which I shall state, for I have referred to a memorandum which I had, to see if my memory was correct; and if I am incorrect, the gentleman from Boston, before me, (Mr. Gray,)—who was a member of that legislature—can set me right.

In 1839, it was found that the county of Suffolk had increased so enormously in wealth, that it was found to be entitled to nearly one-third of the senatorial representation of the State. The amount which it paid for public purposes, according to the valuation, entitled it to that number. The first proposition that was submitted to the legislature, in either of its branches, was one which proposed that the basis of representation in the Senate should be altered before the next census should be taken, in 1840, upon the ground that Suffolk was then, in 1839, entitled to one-third of the whole senatorial vote—thirteen or fourteen out of forty, and because, according to the estimated increase of her wealth, at the next census, in 1840, she would show a constitutional right to one-half the Senate. I have in my hand the report of the committee on that subject, and the majority reported that it was inexpedient to alter the basis of the Senate; and the minority reported that upon the then constitutional provisions, Suffolk would have a senator for every six thousand inhabitants, and that Barnstable, with a population of thirty thousand, would not be entitled to one senator. The matter then, after having been referred to a committee, came before the House upon the report of a majority of that committee, against any change, and the report of the minority, adverse to the report of the majority. The minority reported that the basis ought to be changed in order to prevent the county of Suffolk from being entitled to nearly one-half of the whole number of senators at the next valuation. In the action of the legislature upon this

subject, the proposition was brought forward, that the basis of the representation of the House of Representatives, as well as of the Senate, should be changed, and that both should be fixed upon the amount of population. This proposition was referred to a new committee, who were instructed to consider the expediency of placing both the Senate and the House of Representatives upon a population basis. I shall not attempt to go into the details of what transpired after the matter was referred to the new committee, of which the gentleman from Boston, (Mr. Gray,) I believe, was the chairman. The majority of the committee reported in favor of a system of districting—in favor of dividing the State into forty-seven districts, for the choice of as many representatives each as the number of two thousand five hundred should be contained in the number of the whole population of the district. No town lines were crossed, and no county lines, except that the town of Chelsea was annexed to a part of the county of Essex. And both the majority and minority reports proposed a population basis for both branches: That system of districts was not acceptable to the House, and the present system was introduced by the recommendation of the minority of the committee. I will not trouble the House with any details on that point. The result of it was, that, in consideration that the county of Suffolk was deprived of more than one-half of her senatorial force, a proposition was made and adopted, that the towns should be regarded as representative districts, and that representation in both branches of the legislature should be based upon the population.

The minority of the committee which reported the present system, say:—

“In advocating town representation, we have nothing to say of corporate rights. It is the PEOPLE whom we would

have represented, and not corporations. If our districts ought to be small—and the little we have said shows plainly that they should be—towns, on every consideration, ought to constitute those districts.”

The minority of the Committee then go on to say:—“The amendment proposed by us, so far as relates to the House of Representatives, is nearly the same with that of the Convention of 1820. That highly respectable assembly, second to none which ever convened in this Commonwealth, in either talent or intelligence, in their address to the people of Massachusetts, used the following language: “We are all agreed that representation should be according to population, in this branch. It was the general opinion that the number should be reduced, that town representation should be preserved,” &c. And again: “We will not say that this system is the best that could be; but we may justly say that we have spared no exertion to form, and to present to you, the best which we could devise.’”

That Convention substantially recommended in 1820 the same system which now exists, with the single exception that towns not having population sufficient to entitle them to one representative, (1,200,) should have a representative each other year and be classed in two divisions, and that the House should not exceed two hundred and seventy-five. The whole tenor of the argument contained in that report of the committee in 1839, is to show that the large towns ought not to complain that they were deprived of a part of their power. They did, however, complain at the time, and there was some reason for it, though the system was not as unjust as either of the plans which are now before us.

Now, Sir, I submit that it is hardly just to say that the present system is so full of iniquity and injustice as some seem to think, when it has had the deliberate sanction of

the Convention of the 1820, and of two legislatures, and of the people of the State. True, it was at first rejected by the people when submitted in 1820, but it has since been ratified by them, with a slight modification.

The point to which I particularly desired to call the attention of the Convention was this, that according to the principles upon which the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had before acted, the right of representation in the Senate according to taxation had, up to 1839, been recognized, and under it, Suffolk was entitled to one-third of the senators, and the counties of Essex and Middlesex absorbed a good proportion of the rest. It was found necessary therefore, that the basis should be changed from valuation to population, and Suffolk, Essex and Middlesex fell in with the proposition upon the ground that these corporate rights, as they have been termed—though I take a different view of the matter from some gentlemen—were relinquished in some degree by the small towns. I, therefore, think it unjust to undertake to deprive the large towns of their right to representation according to population, since we have heretofore taken from them their rights under the old system, upon the ground that population was the proper basis.

I do not justify or defend the ancient basis of the Senate. I do not say it should have been preserved. But it was the "practice of the fathers," and was sanctified by the "usage of centuries;" it had been a part of the policy of the government from the earliest settlement of the Commonwealth, to base representation, in part, upon taxable estates; it was, in 1839, the right—the constitutional right—of Suffolk, and the wealthy counties to insist upon that basis. They held it to be as sacred as that of town representation, as it exists under this present, or as it had existed under any prior Constitution; they surrendered it for a population basis in both

branches ; and is it just that we should now deprive them of the benefits which fell to them, and claim those which accrued to us, under the basis thus established ? I think not.

Now, Sir, I prefer the present system, in answer to the question of the gentleman from Lowell, (Mr. Butler,) unless we can have an equal system, which shall materially reduce the House—which shall give to every voter a representation every year, and a right to vote for an equal number of representatives, and by which each representative shall be the representative and exponent of the political power of the same number of population, or legal voters. Do this, and for one, I am indifferent whether these results are secured by a town or district system, or whether the districts are large or small, or whether representation is based upon population or upon legal voters ; though, I think, the latter the proper basis for representation in both branches of the legislature.

Although this system was adopted by the Convention ; this and all the rest of its work was defeated by the public, mainly on account of the plan of representation.

In the fall of 1853 I was elected to the legislature. In the session of 1854 nothing that I said or did is of interest now, except perhaps what I said in opposition to the loan of the State to the Troy & Greenfield R. R. Co. to the amount of \$2,000,000. From the return of the corporation, sworn to by its officers, it was shown that it consisted of only seventeen stockholders who had taken only \$160,000 of the stock and that of this amount, one firm had subscribed for \$100,000, who constituted the corporation, while they had paid in only \$250 for that stock. Strange as it must now seem this loan was granted by the legislature, but it failed of effect by the inability of the corporation to conform to the conditions upon which it was granted.

The only deliberately prepared speech I ever made in the legislature was in opposition to this absurd measure. I spent much time and labor in getting information on the whole matter—the difficulties of the undertaking, the cost of much work, the inadequacy of the returns or income from it, and the inutility of the undertaking and the folly of making such a loan to such a corporation.

The speech occupied most of the time through two daily sessions of the House, and no answer to its facts or reasoning was made or attempted by any member, and not a word of it was reported in the daily papers at that time. The same means and appliances with which the "Lobby" had worked the bill through the legislature, were also potent enough to silence the reporters for the press.

I had only a single sheet in my brief, which I still have, and I have felt sorry that so little publicity was given to what I had prepared—especially as the subsequent history of the undertaking—verified so fully much that I then declared would be the result of the measure.

In 1855 the "Know-nothing" craze swept over Massachusetts. I was urged to cast my lot with that party. I openly and emphatically condemned it—both in its methods and doctrines.

This course left me to the comfort and enjoyment of private life for a year, but only for one year for in 1856 I was chosen one of the commissioners of Essex county, for the term of three years. I found the duties of this office very agreeable to me. They were various but not onerous. Many required out door labor in all parts of the county, and with no worrying, care or anxiety, my life passed more pleasantly than in a lawyer's office. But these labors and absences from my office interfered much with my law practice, and caused my clients to be complaining of my absence and

of their difficulty in finding me. I therefore concluded in 1858 to give up my general practice of the law and take down my sign.

In 1859, after I had served two years as a commissioner, during which the commissioners were paid by the day and travel, the legislature in a fit of spasmodic economy, reduced the compensation to \$2500 per year for the three. This pay was very inadequate and unreasonable. We each paid the Eastern R. R. \$100 per year for what we might ride on that road on official business. We were often required to act in remote parts of the county and I found it necessary to keep a horse.

In entering upon our duties we found gross abuses, excessive and illegal expenditures in every department of county business. My associates were sensible and capable men, but were not familiar with the "fee bills," or with the provisions of law authorizing and regulating of county expenditures, and they fully approved my plan and efforts to bring them within legal bounds.

Under the reforms introduced, the expenditures of the county were reduced in the two years of our service, to an amount \$35,000 less than they had been on the average for the five preceeding years.

This appears from the following published statement of the receipts and expenditures of the county of Essex for the years above referred to:—

Year.	Tax.	Expenditures.	Debt, on Notes.
1853	\$55,200	\$137,361.83	\$176,904.16
1854	78,220	164,771.36	247,596.66
1855	78,220	146,960.09	305,064.66
1856	98,400	115,327.35	301,634.66
1857	98,400	102,235.44	288,233.50
1858	80,000	97,641.52	285,244.50

After such careful and successful service for the county, and the closing of my law office that I might give more attention and time to these official duties, I felt indignant that the pay had been reduced about one-half, and I also felt aggrieved at the want of appreciation on the part of the public which I had served, and I resigned the office in the spring of 1859.

In the fall of that year, 1859, I was elected to the legislature. At the close of the session I was released of all care and responsibility of official labor and I gave my attention to the cultivation of my land, fruit trees and vines, and especially to new, diversified experiments for the production of a really good grape that could be successfully grown in this country, being all the time undecided about resuming my law labors.

In the spring of 1861, however, I was seized with threatening head troubles, which the best medical advisers thought indicated impending apoplexy, and continued mental labor was interdicted. I was bled, all meat was forbidden, and for three years or more I was almost starved to death, and from this depletion I did not fully recover until 1866, and then all thought of resuming the practice of law was abandoned. On the restoration of my health a few years later, I did not resume general practise of the law on account of the unpleasantness of Judge Shaw towards me, and which he manifested whenever I appeared before him.

This conduct not only embarrassed me, but I feared my clients might suffer from his injustice to me, and I was sure that they would not consider me a safe counsel in cases that might come before this court, and would not give me their business on that account.

This ill-feeling toward me originated in one of my early cases in 1857, that came before the full court. It was a case of

appeal from the Court of Common Pleas, in refusing to arrest a judgment on the ground that the verdict was not responsive to the issue, and would not support a judgment. The Supreme Court sustained this view of the verdict, but instead of arresting the judgment as the Statute required them to do, the Chief Justice sent the case back to the Common Pleas to have the verdict amended or a new trial ordered.

When the case came up in the Common Pleas, I objected to any action in this court on the ground that the appeal had removed the case entirely from this court.

The Judge in this court, (Ward) refused at first to do anything further with the case—saying if the Supreme Court had made such a mistake they must correct it. The counsel for the other side, O. P. Lord, went to see Shaw about it and he told me that Chief Justice Shaw was very indignant that I did not call attention to the matter when the decision was rendered ; and that he told him (Lord) that he should not lose his verdict.

I expressed my surprise that Chief Justice Shaw should say this without giving me a chance to be heard, and that I did not see how he could do anything about it, as the case was not before him, nor even in his court. I think this remark was repeated to Shaw and that he never forgave me for it.

A few years later while arguing a pauper case before the full bench, he asked me in a very offensive tone and manner, what I meant by the word "inhabitaney"—a word repeatedly used by the court in a decision I had just read ; I replied that I used it as synonymous with settlement—it was so used by the court in the case I had just read.

In this case it was claimed that the pauper's father gained a settlement in Ipswich while residing in that part of it which is now Essex. I spoke of it as a settlement gained in

that part of Ipswich which is now Essex. Shaw asked me very offensively, if I claimed that a settlement could be had in a part of a town.

I replied, no your honor; the settlement would pertain to the whole town, but it might be acquired in a particular part. He then said, "your language is not correct," you should say: the pauper's settlement in Ipswich was derived from his father, which the father gained in Ipswich while living in that part which is now Essex.

I did not accept this language, nor did I repeat my former expression. I soon had my revenge. In the next case I read. Chief Justice Parker, in giving the opinion of the court, says: 'Did Benj. Glasier, the pauper,' gain a settlement in that part of Lancaster which is "now West Royston?" Here I stopped reading and remarked, your honor will observe the court here uses the same language I have used. I cannot describe the effect this remark had on Shaw's face, but Dewey laughed and jogged Bigelow's elbow, and Cushing smiled.

I then commenced the reading the opinion again, giving due emphasis to the expression or language Shaw had condemned.

After receiving these interruptions upon such unfounded reasons, I declared I would never appear before him again, and I never did. I was not willing to occupy a position in which I could be insulted without the right to resent it, and all the cases in my charge were turned over to other counsel.

When I sat down the members of the bar expressed their gratification at the keen and deserved rebuke I had given Shaw. I told them I would never appear before him again, and I never did, and that road to wealth and fame, which appeared to be open before me, was thus closed forever.

In 1862 there were many of each of the three parties, Whig, Democratic and Free Soil, much dissatisfied and alarmed at the rash, offensive and unwarrantable language toward the South which many of the prominent men in official stations used, and the unlawful and unconstitutional policy advocated by them.

These men fearing the effect of such conduct upon the future of the nation, called upon those who agreed with them in this opinion in this senatorial district, to choose delegates to a convention to nominate a candidate for the State Senate.

The convention met in the fall of 1862. I was then nominated, but on account of my feeble health, declined to accept the nomination in a letter addressed to the president of the convention, as follows:—

B. H. CORLISS, Esq., President of the People's Convention, &c.:

Sir,—I have been duly notified of my nomination for the Senate by the People's Convention of the 5th Essex Senatorial District. The nomination was made by a convention composed mostly of gentlemen, in whose general views and actions on political subjects I cannot concur; and I am informally informed that I was thus nominated because, among other reasons, of my known objections to the re-election of Mr. Sumner to the United States Senate. It is true, I have, and have freely expressed, a decided opinion that it would be unwise to re-elect Mr. Sumner. That opinion has subjected me to unkindness and censure from many, who, I supposed, would respect my motives if they did not concur in my opinion. In declining to accept that nomination, as I now do, I desire to show, to such persons, that it is possible for a man to have an opinion based upon other foundations than considerations of personal interest or advantage, or a desire for office.

I think I have good reasons for the opinion I have expressed against Mr. Sumner's re-election, and I trust that, as I shall have no other occasion to lay those reasons before the public without obtrusiveness, you will excuse me for stating them on this occasion, although I decline your nomination. My reason for this opinion are these:

Mr. Sumner's conduct has tended to strengthen the rebellion. It has tended to increase the obstacles to a restoration of the Union.

It has tended to weaken our own army.

His conduct hereafter will hinder the final settlement of the contest which now distracts the country.

At the outbreak of the rebellion there were hundreds of thousands of loyal men in the South, and among the slave owners who manfully withstood the torrent of secession, asserting in justification of their loyalty that the general government had no design to interfere with the local right which the master held and enjoyed under the Constitution of the Union. What made those loyal men rebels? While the question of life and death to the Union was trembling in the balance in North Carolina and Tennessee, and even in Virginia, continued attacks upon the rights and feelings of these men as slave owners were made by Mr. Sumner in his speeches in Congress; and several measures, right in themselves, were pressed by him and urged through Congress, by which these men were deprived of rights they had always enjoyed under the union; and this was done while those most effected by these measures had no opportunity to be heard against them. Was it wise to exercise our power in this manner at such a crisis? and thus to take from the loyal men at the South the only support upon which they could stand in defence of their loyalty upon Southern ground, and to make the Union more objectionable to the South at the very moment of its greatest peril?

Mr. Sumner's conduct has tended to invigorate the exertions of the rebels by exasperating their passions. His resolutions for the political annihilation of the seceded States and the imposition of a government over them as territories, and other similar schemes, were of no use except that they provoked the people of the South. He has advocated the most extreme measures against them—some measures, indeed, such as the rejected confiscation bill, which it would be hard, if not impossible, to sustain by any just interpretation of the Constitution or laws of war. I refer to the confiscation bill which was defeated by the opposition and superior sagacity and justice of the loyal Senators—Cowan of Penn., Collamer of Vt., Clark of N. H., and Fessenden of Me. Mr. Sumner advocated these measures in a manner, in language and upon grounds, calculated to

irritate and annoy those against whom these measures were directed.

By such conduct and measures I think the rebels have been strengthened in both their numbers and determination, the Union has been made more objectionable to the South than it was, and new obstacles to the restoration of the Union have been interposed between the sections.

Mr. Sumner's conduct has tended to weaken our own army. How? By his repeated attacks upon Gen. McClellan. While that General was commander of our army, he attacked him openly in debate in the Senate, and he has since then repeated the attack—finding fault with that General's military movements, and intimating doubts of his capacity, if not of his loyalty. Within a few weeks a paper has been circulated all over the state, under the frank of Mr. Sumner as Senator, in which paper Gen. McClellan is assailed—and it is charged that "his delay before Centreville lost our army a fine blow, and made us the laughing-stock of the world," "his delay on the Potomac permitted that river to be blockaded, and could not have cost the country less than one hundred millions, for which we have nothing to show but defeat and disgrace;" "his delay before Yorktown permitted the enemy to collect their army and make their fortifications impregnable;" "his delay on the peninsula buried 100,000 of the best troops the world ever saw," and that "it is probable that his delay to evacuate the peninsula prevented Franklin and Sumner from reinforcing Pope, and thus brought on the second disaster at Manassas." The same paper contains two other articles, copied from other papers, attacking Gen. McClellan in a similar spirit. This paper, as before stated, has recently been scattered broadcast over the Commonwealth under the Senatorial frank of Mr. Sumner.

Can any citizen be guilty of a greater folly, or crime even, than that of weakening the confidence of our army in its appointed leader, while they are standing face to face with the enemy? What, then, must be the lack of loyalty or wisdom in a Senator who will do, and has done the same thing? and who does this, too, while the earnest exertions of every loyal man are needed to reinforce that army by voluntary enlistments! With what face could Mr. Sumner ask a man to enlist under such a commander, or who would volunteer under such a General as he represents Gen. Mc-

Clellan to be? and with what awful misgivings would a man go into battle, if he believed, or even feared, he had such a guide!

It is upon these facts that I think Mr. Sumner has, by his indiscreet and passionate conduct, strengthened the rebels—weakened our own army, and increased the obstacles to a restoration of the Union; and thousands of lives and million of dollars must be lost in overcoming the disastrous influence of the speeches he has made and the policy he has advocated in Congress.

Can we expect any real aid from Mr. Sumner, in the final settlement of the contest that now distracts the country?

When and in what form that settlement will come, no man can now tell. This terrible contest should be continued only for one object, and that is—the unity of all our territory as one country, under the Constitution of our fathers and the Government of our choice. To secure this object, gold and blood have been poured out without stint and without measure. Under the circumstances in which the government was placed, this was unavoidable. We cannot complain of it. It is only by occasional sacrifices of this nature that a nation lives. But the burden will be heavier and the afflictions greater yet, I fear, before we secure that unity of our country upon which we all insist. And yet Mr. Sumner declares in advance, that he will not be satisfied with a peace which secures such unity by a return of the South to its allegiance and duty, and that the war ought to be carried beyond that—that slavery must be destroyed throughout the South—that the cause, the power and the motive of rebellion must be annihilated. He does this in his recent speech in Faneuil Hall, in which he says:

“The force of the rebellion may be broken, even without an appeal to the slaves. But I am sure that with the slaves our victory will be more prompt, while without them, it can never be effectual—completely to crush out the rebellion. It is not enough to beat armies. Rebel communities, envenomed against the Union, must be reclaimed, and a wide spread region must be pacified. This can be done only by the removal of the cause of all the trouble, and the consequent assimilation of the people, so that no man shall call another master. If slavery be regarded as a disease, it must be extirpated by knife and cautery, for only in this way can the healthful operations of national life be restored. If it be regarded as a motive it must be expelled from the system, that it may no

longer exercise its disturbing influence. So long as slavery continues, the States in which it exists will fly madly from the Union: but with the destruction of slavery, they will lose all such motive and will rather prefer to nestle under its wing. The slave States, by the influence of slavery, are now CENTRIFUGAL; but with slavery out of the system, these same States will be CENTRIPETAL. Such is the law of their being. And it should be the policy of the Government at this time to take advantage of this law, for the benefit of the Union. Nay, from the necessity of the case this should be done.

Let the war end on the battle-field alone, and it will be only in appearance that it will end; not in reality. Time will be gained for new efforts, and slavery will coil itself to spring again. The rebellion may seem to be vanquished, and yet it will triumph. The Union may seem to conquer. And yet it will succumb. The Republic may seem to be saved and yet it will be lost."

Mr. Sumner thus, and in other parts of the same speech, deprecates a peace unless slavery is destroyed, and calls upon the people of Massachusetts not to be content with the restoration of peace and unity in our land, but to consider the Union as defeated when thus restored, and the republic as lost when thus saved, unless slavery is abolished throughout the South; and, by implication, they are urged to continue the war, even after the South should be willing to return to its allegiance, until slavery is abolished there; declaring that a peace without this would be undesirable and worthless!

Are the people of Massachusetts ready for a contest upon this issue? Few of the living will see the termination of the bloody strife, if it is allowed to go on with this end in view. In such a contest we would arm the entire white population of the South with the energy which accompanies a struggle for individual life; and before we could subdue the South upon such a policy as this, the horrors of war in both sections would be tenfold greater than they have yet been. Paralysis would seize every pursuit—impoverishment, if not want, would be felt under every roof—vacant places would be found at every board, and desolate hearts round every hearthstone. Those who think this object can be gained by any number of victories upon the battle-field or by a few years of warfare had better ask themselves what we would do and suffer under similar circumstances, before we would be conquered by

them, and be deprived by violence of local rights which the Constitution of our fathers does not permit the general government to interfere with.

I cannot support this policy or any man who advocates it. We of the North are all now united in this contest for the noblest of causes, the national life—for the existence of a country and its constitutional government—without which we should literally have no abiding place upon the earth; our homes would be like boats upon the sea, and life itself a vagrancy.

I do not wish to see the contest degenerate into a bloody struggle for the emancipation of the black race in the South. In such a struggle we should surely find the loyal men of the North divided, and in its course and termination we would equally betide the fate of the black man and the destiny of the nation.

Yours, &c., GEORGE HASKELL.

Ipswich, Oct. 20, 1862.

This public expression of my opinions kept me free of political labors for several years. Being then in poor health I devoted my attention and time to the cultivation of my land, the improvement of my orchard, experiments in draining, and the trial of the artificial compound or fertilizers then in the market; and especially for the production of good hardy grapes by cross-fertilization which could be successfully grown in this country. The results of these labors were published from time to time in the COUNTRY GENTLEMAN during the next twenty years, or until 1884. Some of these experiments and my observations of the results have been fully verified by later experience and may be as useful now as when written, and such are therefore inserted in this work.

I adopted a systematic course of cross-fertilizing of the foreign and native grape, to obtain a good grape adapted to our soil and climate, keeping a careful record of the results of every cross to guide me in my future labor. This course has been followed for more than thirty years.

The first report of my labor in this matter was published in the COUNTRY GENTLEMAN in 1863, and was as follows:—

EDITORS OF THE COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.—It is not rash to promise horticulturists some new and valuable varieties of grapes before many years have passed. So many cultivators are experimenting in the production of new varieties, and the means used for modifying the fruit and vine are so various, that new kinds must result from these experiments, and it would be more than a miracle if they are all bad.

During the last fifteen years, and every year during that time, I have tried in various ways to HARDEN the foreign vine and ameliorate the native fruit. Generation after generation of vines, and tens of thousands of plants have been raised, condemned and destroyed as worthless. I have planted the seeds of the best natives for three or four generations, selecting the most promising in each generation for reproduction. A few of these are still on "probation," but most all of them were infertile or worthless. I have planted the seed of the foreign varieties—nursing them with care until they were two or three years old; but I have never seen one yet that would survive for two years after that, unless that care and covering, &c., were continued. I have let them die. I have grafted each species upon the other and planted the seeds thus produced; but the stock did not in either case impart any new, or its own qualities, to the fruit or vine of seedlings thus produced, and they came to nothing different from seedlings of foreign or native, grown on their own root. I have inarched a shoot of one species over first bloom of the other; and after a few weeks, and before the grapes were half grown, cutting off the shoot proper to the fruit a few inches above the INARCH, and cutting the same shoot off a few inches below the INARCH, thus leaving a piece of wood six or eight inches long, bearing the cluster, connected by the INARCHMENT with, and growing upon ALIEN roots, and maturing this fruit under the foliage of an ALIEN species. Foreign grapes were thus put upon and under native grape vines and foliage, and native fruits upon and under foreign vines and foliage. I expected most from this process, but have been disappointed in this as much as in the other trials. Its effects upon the fruit on the cluster thus suspend-

ed was such as to upset the theory of the physiologist, as to the influence or agency of the leaf in the production of fruit; but I will not comment on that now. I have ascertained only one result so far as this process affects the seedlings from the grapes thus suspended. It does not effect the CONSTITUTIONAL PROPERTIES OF THE VINES thus produced. The grapes yield seedling vines nowise different in foliage or hardihood from those produced by the same grapes grown in their usual way. The effect upon the FRUIT of the seedlings thus produced is yet to be seen.

For the past two years I have tried to effect the desired changes of cross-fertilization. This process seems the most rational, but by even this every change is effected by chance, and the result is mere guess-work. I hope it will not be so much longer. I have more than three hundred seedlings, the products of sixteen different crosses between native and foreign vines. I have crossed the foreign with the native and the native with the foreign—the black with the white and the white with the black—and reversed the parentage of grapes of different colors, forms, foliage and size of fruit and cluster, in so many ways that I have no doubt we shall be able to discover thereby the law that governs the modification of the fruit and vine by this process. Nor will it be many years before we shall see the full effects of this process, for most of these vines are very vigorous—many of them being now, Aug. 18th, more than eight feet high, from seed planted last spring.

One effect of these crosses is already so obvious and universal that it may be affirmed to be a rule or law in this matter; and that is, that the native parent, whether staminate or pistillate, has a predominant influence in giving the form and other characteristics of foliage to the seedlings, and that when the parent species are of equal vigor, the staminate parent imparts those characteristics. For illustration, in more than sixty seedlings of Hamburgh, fertilized with Pigeon or Frost, there is not one that has a DECIDED resemblance to the Hamburgh in foliage; and the seedlings of the Hamburgh fertilized with Fox, have foliage much more like the Fox than like the Hamburgh, and almost precisely like Fox seedlings fertilized with Hamburgh. The seedlings of Pigeon fertilized with Hamburgh, have foliage much more like Pigeon than like Hamburgh, though it is more like the Hamburghs than are the Hamburghs fertilized with Pigeon or Frost.

Precisely the same results are seen in the various crosses between the Frontignacs and the natives. The native pistillate parent and foreign staminate parent yield vines having foliage very much like the native parent, but considerably modified in some particulars; while the foreign pistillate and the native staminate yield vines with foliage most like the native staminate parent, and much less like the foreign than those have when the cross is the other way; but in both ways the native predominates.

From these facts I think it is clear that the staminate parent has most influence in giving the form and other characteristics of the foliage; but that this rule is modified by the comparative vigor of the two species—the superior vigor of the native pistillate counter-acting in a considerable degree the general influence and effect of the staminate (foreign.)

By similar observation of these plants when they bear fruit, in reference to the color of the fruit, and the form and size of the fruit and cluster, I think we may discover the law which governs this process of modification, and ascertain which parent imparts the constitutional qualities of the vine, and which the qualities of the fruit, perhaps clearly enough to enable us to produce new varieties TO ORDER. This, however, must be the work of time—of patience and diligent investigation. By one way or the other, I think we shall be quite sure of ultimately obtaining good and early fruit and hardy vines.

Excuse this long letter; viewed by itself it is long, but in reference to the multiplied and long-continued labors which it records, it is brief—very brief.

GEORGE HASKELL.

Ipswich, Mass., Aug. 18, 1863.

In entering upon a systematic course of cross-fertilization, I found great confusion and uncertainty in the number, descriptions and nomenclature of the so-called American species. Botanical names have been affixed to many such species; but not one of these indicate any peculiar and invariable trait or characteristic which distinguished it from the others, except *Riparia*, nor is any such characteristic or trait mentioned.

In reply to professors of Botany, as to what species I claimed to be the Riparia and the Pigeon, I sent the following reply:—

EDITORS COUNTRY GENTLEMAN—Much difference of opinion exists as to the number of species of the grapevine indigenous to North America. A correspondent some time since stated that there were eleven, which he undertook to describe; and Mr. Pringle of Vermont, in your paper Feb. 1, expressed some doubt as to which of two species the pigeon grape belonged to which I used in crossing—whether the *COSTIVALIS* or *CORDIFOLIA*?—I can truly say I don't know. But I can safely say that it belongs to either, or both, for I do not know and never could find any specific difference in the so-called species. There is much variation in the foliage of the pigeon grapes of this vicinity, but the foliage and manner of growth of the Clinton is a correct likeness of a large proportion of these wild vines. After much inquiry and investigation, I doubt if we have more than one species of grape indigenous to this country. Loudon describes FIVE such—the *Labruska*, *Æstivalis*, *Cordifolia*, *Raparia* and *Vulpina*. His description of the *Labruska*, *Riparia* and *Vulpina*, all apply to our Fox grape or meadow grape, and what he says of the *Æstivalis* and *Cordifolia* describes equally well our pigeon or wild grape; nor do his descriptions of the five species give us one characteristic of a species which is not equally applicable to all. The most constant distinction between the three first and two last is that the former almost always grow in a wild state by the side of streams, or in swamps and wet ground, while the last two are almost as constantly found on high land, and very seldom in the favorite location of the former. If this difference in HABITAT indicates a specific difference, then we may have two specifics; otherwise, I think we have but one.

After describing the five species, Loudon adds: "the American species have been considerably reduced by Messrs. Torrey and Gray, but it appears to us the reduction might have been carried still farther. Indeed, from the above described species in the Hort. Society's garden, we are much inclined to think they are only varieties of the same species. They certainly do not differ more from each other than the known varieties of the common cultivated grape."

I have examined the wild vines in all this region, and from Florida to Ohio, and find the most marked characteristics common to them all. Even the *Scuppernon*, so often regarded as a distinct

species, has the color of our northern Fox; has a hard, sour pulp, drops from the cluster, has few berries in the bunch, and thrives best in wet locations, like the Fox. The foliage and wood differ from the northern Fox somewhat. I think it is only a southern variety of the RAPARIA, the most descriptive designation of what we call the Fox grape.

It is, however, a matter of little value to us whether we have more or less species, so long as none of them give ONE variety of really good and wholesome fruit.

Essex County, Mass., May, 1872.

GEORGE HASKELL.

I can see no reason to change the opinion I then expressed, except to add that there is a great difference in the texture of the roots of these two species—the Riparia and Pigeon (or Frost:) the former being soft, herbaceous, like the root of a cabbage, and those of the latter being ligneous, woody, like those of an oak: and this difference explains why each succeeds only in its peculiar habitat—the one on the banks of streams and the moist alluvian, and the other on the hard dry soil of the hills.

The constancy of the predilection of these two species—the one for the banks of the stream and moist alluvian, and the other for the hard and dry soil of the hills—seem to justify the designation I would give them—the Riparia and Highland.

Both these species and the Scuppernong have been used in my experiments.

The Scuppernong blooms very late, and it was difficult to bring it into bloom at the same time as the foreign, and it seemed to have no desirable qualities.

Desiring to stock my land on Heartbreak Hill with fruit trees, I commenced planting the seed, hoping that I might obtain some good varieties. I bought many bushels of the native pears grown on the healthiest trees in this vicinity, and saved and planted the seed.

When large enough to furnish grafts, I took grafts from those which appeared most promising and grafted them

upon bearing trees. Not one of them, however, bore fruit worth saving.

I planted out in this pleasant site, in rows thirty links apart and twenty links apart in the row, more than 2000 of these trees. When large enough I budded or grafted them with more than 100 of the varieties most highly recommended. Most of these varieties have borne fruit, but not more than a dozen are worth growing in this section and perhaps it would have been better to discard one-half of these.

I had rather better luck in raising peaches from seed. I had two out of several hundred raised that I found worth saving; one of very excellent flavor, and one quite good and productive, and very hardy in this region.

Although I did not succeed in obtaining new and good grapes, pears and peaches by these experiments in planting the seed, I learnt a valuable lesson in regard to the necessity of having seed that was thoroughly ripe. There was a great difference in the vigor and growth of plants from the same lot of seeds, planted together in the soil, and all treated alike and under the same conditions. On reflection and continued observation, and experiment, I was sure that this appearance in growth depended on the condition of the seed as to maturity, I therefore sent the following communication to the COUNTRY GENTLEMAN:—

EDITORS OF THE COUNTRY GENTLEMAN—The experiment of your correspondent, A. E. B., described in your paper of July 12th, is deserving of especial attention, as it shows the importance and influence of good seed. Upon a little reflection it is very obvious, and appears rational and physiological, that the vigor and productiveness of a plant depend very much upon the perfect maturity and vital condition of the seed from which the plant springs, and

that no manure or fertility of soil can make a weak plant as vigorous and productive as a strong one. This is true of every plant from a raddish to an oak. Yet seldom is this truth regarded.

Has it never occurred to the planter to ask himself why there is so much difference in the plants of corn in the same hill, all treated alike? or, why there is such a difference in the vigor of a lot of seedlings of any plant when all are in the same bed or drill and under the same conditions? I could state many facts tending to show that by careful attention to the perfect maturity of seed the productiveness of annual plants can be much increased, and that perennial plants can be obtained of quicker growth and greater hardiness, but it does not seem necessary to do this. Indeed I believe the "running out" of the new wheats and other plants in a few years after their introduction is caused by the premature gathering of the crop to avoid the waste of seed; and yet the plant from one heavy, well matured grain, would tiller and yield more at harvest, than five shrunken kernels with their puny and yellow stalks. So, too, of corn. It often rots in the ground, or comes up feeble and yellow, and the planter often says in explanation of this, "that the weather is too cold; the ground is too wet; there is too much manure in the hill, etc. On inquiry, I have generally found in such instances, that the farmer went through his field before harvest to select his seed corn, or if selected at the husking, more attention was given to the size of the ear, than to the ripeness of grain. One of my neighbors, however, follows the practice of his grandfather, and selects for seed only the ears which have limber butts to the cobs or ears, though the ears may be small, or mere "nubbins." He does not know why these ears are preferred, but his corn always ripens, and yields a good crop; and it is evident, from the condition of the cob, that the grain is ripe, and receiving no further nutriment from the root or leaf.

I think it would pay well for every farmer to leave a portion of his field to stand ungathered until the grain is perfectly ripe, even if some shook out; and in the case of corn, not to cut the top stalks, but to leave every part of the plant to complete its appropriate function in the perfection of its seed.

GEORGE HASKELL.

Ipswich, Mass., July 16.

It was evident, from the failing fertility of the land in this

section from which the hay crop had been taken and sold for many years, that the land was robbed of some element essential to its productiveness. There were then no superphosphates or similar compound on the market. Guano, which was in full supply, did not give durable strength to the land although it gave a rapid and large growth for one, or, at most, for two years.

No ground bone was then offered for sale as a manure, and the only supply of bone I could then obtain was from the button mill at Chicopee, and from one renderer in Roxbury. With the small bone thus obtained, I began to restore my grass land, by rotting the bone in the manner herein described, with decided benefit and profit.

EDITORS COUNTRY GENTLEMAN—The "best possible way" to make bone phosphate, which J. M. A. inquires for in your paper of the 4th inst., and which you say you and many of your readers desire to know, is as follows:

Take one ton of ground bone (the finer ground the better,) and one-half ox-cart load ($\frac{1}{4}$ of a cord) of good pliable soil, which will not break or cake by drying, and which is free from sod and stones, no matter how wet it may be when used. Place a layer of the soil and a layer of the bone, of about equal thickness, upon each other, (soil at the bottom) on the barn floor, or under cover in a shed or out-building, leaving a bushel or two of the soil to cover the heap when all the rest is put together. The heap will be three or four feet wide at the bottom, and about twice as long. In forty-eight hours it will be too hot to hold your hand in. Let it remain undisturbed until the heap begins to cool, which will be in a week to ten days. Then "throw over" the heap "by chopping it down" with a shovel and moving it "in end," thoroughly mixing the soil and bone. In a day or two it will heat again. Let it remain until it cools, or for eight or ten days; then throw it over in the same manner again. In a few days it will heat again, unless the previous fermentations have exhausted all the moisture in the soil and bone. Throw over each ten days until all the moisture is thus exhausted and it does not ferment any more; then it will be ready for use, without deterioration, for ten years.

All that is necessary to make bones operate as a manure is decomposition—ROTTING; and to produce this process the bone only needs to be ground or broken fine, and to be subjected to moisture in warm weather with some substance that will absorb or retain the gases evolved during the process. Soil furnishes the essential requisites, and nothing more is needed to make bones an excellent and durable manure.

This is not a theoretical rule, merely. I have used many tons prepared in this manner during the last twelve to fifteen years. I have tried it upon the same field, and side by side with the superphosphates of different manufacturers, and ALWAYS saw the best and most permanent effects from the same weight of bone prepared in this manner, a ton of which costs, exclusive of the labor and soil, about half as much as a ton of superphosphate,

I do not wish to excite a war with the chemists, but I think their theory of the benefit bone derives by treatment with sulphuric acid is erroneous. The acid only aids the manurial qualities of the bone by the MECHANICAL effect of sub-dividing it—making it finer. Its CHEMICAL effect is no better upon the bone than it would be upon green horse-dung, and I would no sooner treat one than the other with oil of vitrol, with a view of adding to its CHEMICAL value as a manure.

I want to say further, that before treating bones in this manner, I tried several methods recommended by the farming newspapers without much satisfaction. I mixed half a ton of ground bones with twenty bushels of leached ashes, and half a ton with twelve bushels of unleached ashes, and the workmen could not open their eyes in the barn next morning until the doors and windows had been open long enough to let the AMMONIA out! As soon as I saw the effect of this process, I sent for a load or two of spent tan to mix with it; and thus saved a part of the ammonia, but the effect of this compost was not very striking.

I next mixed a ton of bone with wet yellow sand—a material about half-way between sharp sand and loam. This fermented finely, but it smelt so bad, and was so nasty, that I had to pay an exorbitant price to get it applied to the land. It had a good effect however.

I then mixed a ton of bone with a ton of ground plaster. I found the plaster was wholly incapable of keeping down the carron smell,

or of absorbing the manure given out in the form of gases. Water had to be added to this heap to support the fermentation, and the plaster dried hard and in lumps, and did not seem to participate in the fermentive process as the soil does. This did not have so good an effect as the bone and sand; and none of these compounds were equal to that prepared with soil.

I will also add that the newest bone is the best. The old dry bones which are collected after exposure to the weather for years, have lost much of their virtue, and will not heat so soon nor so much as those which have not lost their gelatine in that manner.

GEORGE HASKELL.

Ipswich, Mass., June 12, 1863.

Another object was to underdrain a meadow of nine acres of level land on which there was a fall of less than three feet in 1000, and where the level of the land next below mine was less than one foot above the level of the water at the outlet of the brook at the boundry line. For more than thirty years these tile drains, 500 feet long, have needed no other care or labor, except to remove the silt which collects at the bottom of the brook against the outlet of the tiles. The drainage is perfect for the production of full crops of good English hay.

EDITORS COUNTRY GENTLEMAN—Autumn is the best time to put in underdrains, and a few remarks from my experience may be a help to others.

There are only two conditions of land that can be drained with advantage in this part of the country, where hay is a market crop. Land too wet or heavy for grain or hoed crops, but firm and dry enough for cultivated grasses, yields better returns if kept constantly in grass. But there are fields which have a low and wet spot—a small “run” through it, or a cove or corner—too wet for grain, or to be plowed or worked with the other parts of the field, which, by drainage, can be brought to a uniform condition for tillage with the other parts of the field, and for the same crops and seasons, and when drained it usually becomes the most productive portion.

The other lands which can be drained with profit are the valleys—hassocky meadows—through which a slow, sluggish stream runs,

and often overflows. Such meadows contain all the elements of fertility, and when freed from water bear the largest crops of the best hay at comparatively small cost. If the water in the brook is only one foot below the surface of the ground, the land will be firm enough to be plowed when drained. Many suppose land cannot be beneficially drained unless there is a fall at the outlet equal to the depth of the drain; but it is not so. Twenty-one years ago I drained a part of such a meadow five hundred feet long, with a fall in that distance of less than two feet, and with water at the outlet of the drain ordinarily less than a foot below the surface of the ground. The surface soil is a light, black vegetable mould, about a foot deep. The subsoil is a tough, firm clay, which had to be broken up with a pick. The drains were two rods apart, parallel with the brook; the first one two rods from the brook. The tile were laid two and a half to three feet deep, and for the whole length of the drains were more than a foot below the surface of the water at the outlet, and they have never been obstructed since they were laid. The only care or labor has been to remove the mud or silt which the stream deposits at the outlet in the spring and autumn. The water is kept from the surface just as effectually as if the outlet were above the surface of the water, though the water does not drain off so quickly in the spring of the year, or after heavy rains. The surface is thus freed of water sufficiently for hay-growing and making, except when the water in the brook is raised for a few days by transient rains.

This is the only way this land can be drained. An open drain could not be kept clear of sediment and water grasses where there is so little fall, nor was the fall sufficient to overcome the friction of the water in flowing through such grasses. The consequence was that with a fall of nearly 2 feet in 500, by midsummer the water would be still just as near the surface at the upper part of the piece as it was at the lower. These drains have remedied this. The advantage in putting in the tile so deep is to get them out of the way of frost and disturbance by teams.

This piece of land has lain in grass twenty years without manure, but the coarse grasses had come in so much last September it was plowed and seeded down again to timothy. The operations upon the soil—plowing with two yoke of very heavy cattle, harrowing, rolling, etc.—have not interfered at all with the operation of the drains.

There is one precaution to be observed in laying tile in such a situation, and that is to lay the tiles about as fast as the drain is made ready for them. Inexperience in this matter subjected me to much delay and expense in baling out the water from about 2,000 feet of drain when it was ready for the tile, (a heavy rain storm having nearly filled it,) and clearing out the material of the caved in bank. There was no other remedy, the water in the brook at the outlet being higher than it was in the drain. Another precaution would probably occur to every one, not to open the drain into the ditch or brook until the drain is all complete.

There may be some meadows that would not bear a team even after being drained, and having a foot of firm soil on the surface. But I am sure that there are meadows in the Eastern States now of little value, that could be made very productive and valuable by the improvement suggested herein; and some of those apparently irreclaimable could be plowed, as mine was, with a plow, with MEADOW share and coulter, and a dial clevis and draft rod, which enabled the team to keep on the old sward when plowing.

GEORGE HASKELL.

In 1864 the Democrats of this district put me in nomination for member of the Legislature. As I had affiliated with that party and had been so often elected to office by the Republican party, I issued the following circular to explain my position:

TO THE LEGAL VOTERS OF IPSWICH AND HAMILTON. FELLOW CITIZENS:—

The Democratic voters of this Representative District have placed my name before you as their candidate for representative, and I owe it to you, who have so often honored me under different party auspices, as well as to them and myself, to state the grounds of their action and the opinions upon our public affairs in which I differ from the present policy of the Republican party, and which have led others to desire my return to public duty. I wish to have you understand my position correctly, and to secure that, I know I must address you under my own name—so great and perverse are the misrepresentations of party leaders. Wherein, then, do I differ from those with whom I have formerly acted? It is in this: I still adhere to the principles announced by the unanimous action

of the republican members of Congress in Resolutions there adopted—"that neither the Federal Government nor the people or "governments of the non-slave holding states have a constitutional "right to legislate upon, or interfere with, slavery in any of the "States of the Union;" and "that the war should be prosecuted "solely for the restoration of the rightful authority of the Federal "government, and that when that is secured, it ought to cease."

I still think the war ought to be prosecuted with all the vigor of the government until the rebellious States are willing to return to their allegiance to the Constitution and government established by our fathers—AND NO LONGER. I would not treat with the rebels upon any other basis than their return to the union under that constitution and government which is as much theirs as ours, nor would I exact any other condition of them than loyalty to those.

But the present policy of the government is to require the people of the south to agree to abandon slavery before the President will even talk with them about coming back, and to insist that the war shall be continued until their right to hold slaves under the constitution and laws is surrendered—although it is a right which the constitution of the nation recognizes and does not permit the General Government to interfere with.

I think this policy is revolutionary, impracticable and wrong.

It is revolutionary. It proposes to change the constitution and laws of States, and the personal rights and duties of citizens by military power alone, and without any authority to do so under our national Constitution.

It is impracticable. Military orders and proclamations do not change the institutions of civil society. They merely subordinate the latter to military exigencies during the rule of military power. Overrun the South ever so thoroughly with our armies and issue any number of proclamations or military orders for the government of the territory; but after all is over the judiciary and the courts must decide upon the rights and duties of the people under settled constitutions and laws; and the people there must establish those, or they only have the right so to do. And how long must this policy be pursued, think ye, to compel them to alter their constitution to suit us? Must we not reduce them to the greatest possible straits before they will do so? and what will become of us and ours in that long and sorrowful struggle? I fear if this policy is persisted

in, the sun of our life-day will go down upon this strife, and we shall leave it to an after generation to terminate the unavailing conflict, and to reap the full harvest of its bitter fruits, of private sorrow and social ruin, of national division, devastation and death.

Further, I think this policy is wrong in itself. As is well known to you I have been an anti-slavery man from my earliest manhood. I have labored, voted and prayed for its abolition in a legal and constitutional manner when it was a reproach to do so, and when most of those who are now so earnest to fight for it, were just as earnestly opposing it with their votes. I cherish my old opinions still. I should rejoice to see slavery perish as one of the results of the unavoidable war. But to make it the object of the continuance of the war—to bring financial confusion and ultimate disaster upon every pursuit and grief to every household—to sacrifice and kill our fellow countrymen and lay waste our native land for the abolition of slavery—cannot be justified by either reason or patriotism, humanity or God.

I have not embraced these opinions hastily nor without mature reflection. If they meet the approval of your judgment I shall be glad. If not, I trust you will give me credit for holding them in all sincerity and disinterestedness.

My position as a candidate is sufficiently explained by the annexed letter which I sent in reply to notice of my nomination.

Respectfully yours, GEORGE HASKELL.

Ipswich, Nov. 5, 1864.

TO THE MEETING NOW BEING HELD, ETC.—Your committee have just informed me of my nomination as Representative, etc.

I wish to thank the meeting for this manifestation of their confidence and favor, and to say to them that I fear they may be disappointed in regard to my views unless I now state them:—I cannot accept the nomination without they allow me to do so and to stand upon my own platform. I cannot see my way clear to sustain the Chicago platform or the nominee of the Convention; but I am opposed still, as I was two years ago, to that part of the Republican party which makes it a condition for the restoration of the Union and peace of the country, that the south should give up or abolish slavery, and that the war should be continued till that end is obtained. I cannot therefore sustain that party platform. I am aware that these views leave me nowhere politically. But I cannot help it.

I desire to have the meeting review their action after they learn my views as herein expressed; and to reverse their action if they desire to do so. If after further consideration, the meeting still desires to use my name, I shall not object to it. Respectfully,

GEORGE HASKELL.

Notwithstanding this note my nomination was insisted on, I was defeated of course. I neither desired or expected to be elected. Such was the rancour of party feeling during the Civil War, that no man could receive the support of the party, if he disapproved of any of the measures or policy adopted by a few prominent leaders.

In the spring of 1866 I was elected to the Board of Selectmen, Assessors and Overseers, a position from which I withdrew just twenty years before, but refused to serve more than one year—at this time.

On removing from the home of my friend in 1865, I returned to the hotel for my meals, and furnished a home in the village for housekeeping if I should desire to do so at any time, and fitted one of the front rooms for a library and study rather than an office. Thus situated, I lived in this house, alone, taking my meals at the hotel for eighteen years.

I found this manner of life very agreeable with friends calling often without ceremony, and former clients coming in to talk over their business vexations, for which I was not expected to take any fee, or assume any care or responsibility in their affairs.

During this easy life—exempt from official duties and domestic cares—I spent the most of my time and labor in agricultural labor and experiments. The papers on these subjects and on matters of public interest reprinted in this work, were nearly all written and published while I was living alone, and I now regard this period as the happiest portion of my life.

On the completion of my house on Heartbreak Hill, I removed thither, and my troublesome life of housekeeping with hired help began.

Several permanent improvements were needed on my land, and to them I gave my thought and attention.

One was to eradicate the bushes on land too steep and stony to be plowed. The result of my efforts in this direction were given in the following statement published in the COUNTRY GENTLEMAN and other papers :

EDITORS COUNTRY GENTLEMAN—Twenty years ago I bought a pasture of good soil, but badly overrun with bushes—roses, blackberry, bayberry and barberry. For several years thereafter, as opportunity occurred during the summer season, the bushes were cut, and I had a good opportunity to observe the effect upon their life when cut at different times. It was uniformly the case with all kinds, that when they were cut in the latter part of August or early in September, they were most injured if not killed by the proceeding. The roses were nearly all killed by one cutting at that season, and the barberry, especially those of large growth and which were in fruit, never sent up a sprout from the stump or root. The bayberry and blackberry were more difficult to eradicate with the scythe, but were then, and are now, kept down better when cut late in the summer than at any other time. I am confident the time mentioned is the best to destroy any plant by cutting up; and I think it would be more effectual if done before the foliage drops in the autumn, while the plant is growing, and too late for it to make a new growth before winter.

An experiment, however, which I made for another purpose, leads me to think it may be done later in the autumn. A few years ago I had about 200 peach trees, from three to five inches in diameter, which had been left in the seedling rows to fruit, on account of their vigor and hardihood, and in the hope that some of them would yield good fruit. They stood in rich ground, which was allowed to sward over with grass. None of them bore good fruit, and I decided to bud them with good varieties. To do this I concluded to cut them off near the ground, and to bud the shoots that would grow up from the stump. They were all, therefore, sawn off an inch or two from the ground, on the 19th of November, 1870, and

I expected and desired a thick growth of shoots next spring. But not a shoot, sucker, or bud ever started from one of those stumps or roots. The destruction was entire and complete with every tree. It seems, physiologically, that the same effect should attend the same treatment of plants we wish to eradicate.

GEORGE HASKELL.

Essex County, Mass., Aug. 5, 1872.

Soon after the close of the Civil War Congress authorized the issue of government bonds for a new loan.

It was proposed to exempt such bonds from all local taxation.

Such proposed exemption excited much interest among men holding other property, especially among owners of land. While this question was pending the following article was written and published in the Boston Daily ADVERTISER.

It led to some discussion in that paper, in which, however, I took no part, the weak and ridiculous reasons offered in favor of such an exemption, being most ably answered by a correspondent unknown to me:

TO THE EDITORS OF THE BOSTON DAILY ADVERTISER:—

Why should money thus invested be exempt from taxation, leaving real estate and other taxable property to bear the whole burden of State, county, town, school and highway taxes? Is there any reason or justice in a provision by which taxation is made so unequal?

There is much grumbling and just indignation in the community that one man having ten thousand dollars in United States bonds is required to pay only a poll tax of TWO DOLLARS, while several of his neighbors whose estates are no larger have to pay more than TWO HUNDRED dollars per annum each for local and municipal taxes, and 25 per cent. more for these than they would have to pay if the bondholder was not thus exempted. Is there any just ground for such an exemption?

Government in its strait for money and under the uncertainties attending the war, offered lenders this exemption and six per cent. interest in coin; and no honest citizen can claim a right for government to do less than it thus promised.

But there is now no such stress upon the government. Why then does Congress propose to obtain a new loan with this obnoxious feature?

Simply to get the money at lower interest—to secure a gain to the general government at the expense of all tax payers, EXCEPT BONDHOLDERS. And this gain to the government, which inures to the benefit of all portions of the country, is obtained by an increased tax upon every farm and homestead in New England, where a large amount of government bonds is held, and upon every pursuit and species of property which is taxable under the State laws.

Judging from what is known about the investment in United States bonds in an agricultural portion of the Commonwealth, it is believed the investment in these bonds throughout the State is quite equal to one-fifth of the taxable valuation of the State.

Can Congress think such injustice in legislation and inequality in taxation, as the exemption of this large amount from all local taxes, can be imposed upon the people, merely to obtain a new loan at a low interest and with no urgent necessity for such a measure, without exciting great and general dissatisfaction?

Congress might very properly prohibit any specific tax upon bonds or the imposition of any other rate or tax than that assessed upon all other personal estate of the holder. Anything beyond such protection is partiality and injustice; and in a new loan under present circumstances would injure the party that does it. G. H.

The Republicans of this Congressional District with great inconsistency nominated Gen. Butler, an alien to the district and an apostate Democrat, as their candidate for Congress in 1874.

During the canvass the following article was written by me and widely circulated in the district.

Gen. Butler was defeated and Charles P. Thompson, a Democrat was elected in this strictly Republican district:

TO THE EDITORS OF THE SALEM GAZETTE—The people of this Congressional District are invited to vote again for Gen Butler. Why should we do so? Surely, if ever a man can forfeit the support of his party by his hostilely to their leading measures, then Gen. Butler has given the Republicans of this district the strongest ground for opposing his re-election. He has advocated a further

inflation of the currency by an issue of more greenbacks without specie to sustain it; he has constantly, and too successfully, attempted to defeat the civil service reform, so that he and other members of Congress may continue to control the appointments to office, in such a manner as to subserve their own advancement; he has supported, in Congress and out of it, the infamous Sanborn contracts, and is believed to have participated in the fruits of those transactions, he has attempted to continue the franking privilege, after the disclosure of the disgraceful abuses which were carried on under it, and he originated, supported, and took advantage of the dishonest salary grab. A large majority of the Republican voters of this district are opposed to the course he has taken upon these questions, and he has misrepresented them in all these matters. It has been said that his friends, who held positions or jobs by his appointment or influence, will not let him withdraw from the canvass. But have not the President and the Republican party been trying to deprive Congressmen of this corrupting influence, and do not the people desire to have this abuse corrected? Why, then, support a man who is desired and pressed forward by those who profit by this system of bargain and favoritism? Why should we vote for a man from Lowell who does not agree with us on any of the important political questions of the day, and who is not identified with us by birth, residence, or business pursuits? One, too, who has no high personal character, with no achievements of great public advantage, no renown as a soldier, no personal qualities of morals or manners to command respect or give him influence? He is endowed with a glib, ingenious, unscrupulous and biting tongue, but are these enough to satisfy the intelligent voters of this district?

The district needs, deserves, and it should have, a representative who feels that he has a personal interest in its welfare and good name; and who would perform the duties of the office with equal credit to the district and nation. His integrity should be above suspicion. He should be familiar with public affairs, and understand well the pursuits and interests of our people; should be sound upon the questions of currency, civil service reform, tariff, franking privilege, back pay, etc., and capable of stating his opinions and their grounds with clearness. If accustomed to address public assemblies, so as to do it in an interesting and forcible manner, so much the better; but this is not indispensable.

Now we have many **BONA FIDE** citizens of the district,—indeed almost every town has one or more,—possessing all these essential qualifications, and free from the bad qualities of Gen. Butler. Why cannot we choose one of these citizens?

In the first place such men will not seek, work and intrigue to obtain the nomination, and if not nominated they will not be voted for. In the second place, there are too many seeking the office, and planning and scheming to get control of the caucusses and thus of the convention. This conduct will offend the friends of all the rivals, and disaffect many independent voters who do not feel bound to support the nomination of their party when obtained by drumming, and thus forestalling the action of the people.

In the third place, party names will help to divide those who are entirely agreed upon all important questions of public policy and in opposition to the re-election of Gen. Butler. But for these difficulties the opponents of Gen. B. might act in concert in the selection of a candidate, and if they do this he would be overwhelmingly defeated.

How can this united action be brought about? We do not attach much importance to the nomination that may be made by the Republican Convention. The measures taken by the aspirants to secure their nomination are just such as to absolve even loyal partisans from its support. Besides, it seems to be taken for granted that neither party will acquiesce in the nomination of the adverse aspirant, and if there shall be two Republican candidates in the field, it seems certain that the issue will be between Gen. B. and a Democrat. If Butler should be nominated by that convention, Republicans can repudiate it on the ground that he is not a Republican, in principle or conduct, whatever he may call himself; and if any other person obtains that nomination, Butler and his friends would undoubtedly bolt. Leaving out of view, therefore, for the present, the probable action of the convention, and the desires, ambition, qualifications or "CLAIMS" of others to office, cannot all the opponents of Gen. B.—those who have felt humiliated at his mercenary and unscrupulous conduct since he has been in Congress,—be united against him at the next election?

II.

In 1867, Augustine Heard, a native of the town, although long engaged in trade in China, applied to me for advice and assistance in the establishment of a free Public

Library in the town, which he thought of erecting. After several conferences he bought the land upon which the Library now stands and while considering the form of arrangement of the building, we called upon Prof. Daniel Treadwell, of Cambridge, a native of this town, who was one of the commissioners for the erection of Gore Hall, the building for the Library at Harvard.

He informed us that in his will, prepared some years before, he had made bequests of land and funds for the erection of such a Library in Ipswich, but as Mr. Heard had got the start of him, he should change those provisions and make it contributing to one established by the deed of Mr. Heard. He soon after made a codicil to this effect.

I contributed nothing financially for its establishment. Fortunately that was not necessary, as the ample means and liberality of the founders, Messrs. Heard and Treadwell, furnished all that was necessary. But I spent much time, thought and labor upon the undertaking, and as a trustee and treasurer for more than twenty-five years, it seems proper that this fact should be stated as a part of my life work.

On the opening of the Library for the public use, March, 1869, I was selected to make an address on the occasion, which was as follows :

FELLOW CITIZENS:—The traveler who first passes through a strange and unexplored country, is impeded by unsurmountable obstacles, is turned this way and that, by unforeseen obstructions, is bewildered by doubts as to the direction he should take, and is constantly arrested by unknown objects and dangers, which compel him to retrace his steps, only to start anew from a point passed long before, and to take another direction, in which he may encounter even greater obstacles than those which had intercepted his progress; and thus his lifetime is spent, in unavailing endeavours to reach a point easily accessible in a short time had the way

been known; and he falls by the way leaving no record on the useless paths he has traversed for the aid of subsequent explorers, who in their efforts to make the same journey, will have to run all the hazards of success or failure, which attended him. It would be precisely thus, fellow citizens, with every one of us, were we compelled to commence the journey of our life and to choose which one of the various and shifting paths we would take, and follow in our course, without any instruction or guidance, from those who have traveled life's crooked and perplexing way before us. We need at the commencement of life to have our way shown to us, in regard to the most common labors and most necessary duties.

Soon, however, our own experience begins to teach us, and to teach us as much by our failures as by our success. But all that we can individually learn by our own experience, would be wholly insufficient to furnish the information we need to make our life prosperous or happy, or even comfortable; and if we could know nothing of what had been learned by others in their experience, our own knowledge would be small indeed, and would be acquired so late in life as to be of little value or use to ourselves or others. Hence arises the necessity of our knowing what the experience of others has taught them. But how are we to obtain this knowledge? Tradition will not preserve and transmit it, for the memory will fail and the events and reports of the past will be confused and indistinct, if not obliterated altogether, as the shadows of life gather around the head of the oldest and wisest of men, and the tongue of the most learned teacher must be hushed and perish, and there will be a continual recurrence of times when there will be none to remember and tell, what their fathers have said and done before them. Without a record therefore of the knowledge which our predecessors in life had acquired in long and varied experiences, we all would be left to begin our active life in utter ignorance of its best and successful ways; we should have to seek what we needed to know for our happiness and success, and for our comfort even, by slow, tedious, uncertain and abortive experiments. Hence the necessity of books which are the records of the thoughts, experiences, and the discoveries of other men and former ages; of many and various books, that the coming generations of men may learn and know all that the experience of the past has taught mankind, for books only supply this information; not merely to be learned, but to all pursuits, all labors, all duties, whatever may be the subject of

inquiry, whether in regard to the operations of the mechanic, the labors of the husbandman, the speculations of the philosopher, or the study of nature, history, science, or art; in all these, books supply more knowledge, than any one man knows or ever can know; and each one can find therein the information he needs, in his particular vocation or pursuit. But how are books to be had by those who need them? Every one who reads cannot buy them, for it requires many to supply any one individual, with the information he may need, from time to time during his life. Besides the same book will furnish information to a great many individuals, without lessening the supply for others, and there is no need therefore, that an individual should possess all the books that he may need the use of.

From this you see the desirableness of a public library, in which books upon various topics, on all pursuits and callings in life, and of general knowledge—books needed to supply all wants,—may be placed, where they can be preserved for a long time, and be used by large numbers without price. And a community, which does not possess this opportunity for the instruction of the people, and especially for the benefit of the rising generation, will soon fall behind those who have, intelligence, influence and power.

So obvious is this necessity of public libraries, to enable Massachusetts to maintain her position, as one of the most learned and intelligent communities of the nation, that the legislature, by a recent law, has authorized the towns to contribute to the establishment and support of such libraries to a certain amount proportioned to their valuations. But so great have been the taxes and incidental burdens upon the people for the last few years that very few towns of the size of this, have established them. Several towns, however, have found, among their sons and citizens, men whose sympathies and means were not exhausted by the charities and taxes of the war, and who have generously established and endowed such libraries, or aided the town in so doing. By the munificent act of one of her sons, this town has been placed in full enjoyment of such a library; has been released at once and for ages to come of all this burden; has the use of this building which will stand for ages, in spite of fire and storm, with several thousand volumes of the most useful and valuable books in the language, in all departments of human knowledge, and many of them of rare excellence and high cost, and with paintings, prints, medallions, and other

means of mental improvement: thus giving to all the people of this town, opportunities for that intellectual culture, which adorns social intercourse, and which will perfect in maturer years the liberal education so long and so freely offered in its public schools, to all its children, and which seems to be all that is needed, to make life, in our pleasant old town, refined, peaceful and happy. The instrument by which this gift is consummated conveys this property to three citizens as trustees.

This beautiful and substantial building, this large collection of books most of these paintings, pictures, prints, and other means of intellectual culture, with a liberal sum for the support of it, without charge or expense to this community, all are embraced in this deed of gift, are given freely for your use and enjoyment, to instruct the mind, warm the emotions, and cultivate the taste. Surely wealth was acquired to some purpose, and life spared for beneficent designs which enable their possessor to offer such treasures and such opportunities, to the acceptance of his fellow citizens. I need not speak particularly of Mr. Heard, as many of you have known him so long; but I ought to state, for the benefit of the younger portion of this community, that he was the son of the Hon. John Heard, and was born in this town, 1785. Early in life he engaged in trade as a merchant in the East Indies and China, and some years later he established himself as a merchant in China. He acquired a large property, and always gave liberally to deserving objects, but almost always in silence and secrecy. As his nephews became of age he gave up to them, in a large degree, the interest in his China house, permitting them to manage its affairs, and share the large business and high character which his house had acquired throughout the world.

He was a man of great industry, an early riser, exceedingly regular and exact in his habits, a rigid disciplinarian, of strong mind, and unbending integrity, rather reserved in his manners and conversation, but frank and very intelligent and interesting in conversation with his friends.

His great anxiety for the welfare of this town, for the prosperity of the people, and the honor of the nation, was manifested in his constant desire to promote the instruction, the education, and the industry of young men. Very wisely he thought their character was a forecast of the future of the people, town and nation.

To aid their advancement he has made this liberal provision,

placing in your midst, this fountain of knowledge and intellectual life, where the old as well as the young can find new life and joy in its perennial and soul-refreshing waters.

By this act of Mr. Augustine Heard, these treasures of knowledge, these opportunities, are now opened and offered you, fellow citizens. They are **YOURS**—for the enjoyment, instruction, and elevation, of yourself, your descendants and your successors, in all coming time.

In 1868 I sent an account of my work and observation in crossing the grape to the **COUNTRY GENTLEMAN** as follows :

TO THE EDITORS OF THE COUNTRY GENTLEMAN—Five years ago, in your paper of Sept. 3, 1863, you published an account of my experiments for the production of new varieties of grape. I then stated that, in the great number and variety of crosses I had in progress, I expected to discover the laws by which changes in the fruit and vine were effected by this process. Every year since then I have prosecuted and multiplied these experiments by crossing, until I can see well enough for my own guidance how to effect a desired change in fruit or vine; but I do not feel willing to hazard a public statement of the rule or law which seems to govern in this process, until further and more varied experiments have established its accuracy.

Some facts in these experiments, however, are so remarkable and interesting that they ought to be stated :

FIRST—That the influence of the native parent is very predominant, whether it be the staminate or pistillate. This predominance of the native is seen in giving, as it does to most of the seedlings foliage and fruit most resembling the native, and ability to withstand the cold of our winter, whether the native parent was the staminate or pistillate. My seedlings raised from crosses in both directions, are never protected in the winter, and not one-tenth of them have been killed during the last five winters, and not many were much injured during the last winter, which was very severe, and which killed the *Isabella* and the *Concord* to the ground.

SECOND—That seedlings which have most of the characteristics of one parent in the **VINE**, will have the characteristics of the same parent in the **FRUIT** also. For instance, I find that vines in foliage and tenderness of vine most like the foreign, will have clusters and fruit most like the foreign parent; and the same rule holds as to those resembling the native parent. There is consequently a natur-

al difficulty in uniting, as we desire, the excellent fruit of one with the hardy vine of the other.

THIRD—There is a great difference in the affinities of foreign and native varieties. For instance, much better vines and fruit are obtained by crosses with the Frontignacs and Fox, and even with the Chasselas and Fox, than can be obtained with the Hamburg and Fox; while the crosses with the Hamburg and Pigeon are much better than with Frontignac and Pigeon. Such seedlings, growing side by side, show such a great difference that there can be no doubt about such affinities, or a peculiar adaption of structure to each other in particular varieties.

FOURTH—There is a great difference in the fertility of the progeny of different crosses. My hybrid seedlings exceed five hundred in number, and are the product of twenty eight different crosses. Of these, 133 have bloomed—46 had infertile flowers, 87 had fertile flowers and 56 have fruit on them now. Of several of these crosses, every vine which has bloomed (18 of one cross) has had fertile flowers, and of other crosses a very large proportion have been fertile; but of other crosses every vine which has bloomed has had infertile flowers, and several have had a large proportion of infertile flowers.

Some of the fertile vines have short, curved stamens, and set their fruit imperfectly; others have small berries; some very sour fruit; some small clusters; some are subject to black spots and subsequent blight on the berry; some are subject to mildew on the cluster or on the leaves, or on both. About one-tenth of the whole number of seedlings have vigorous and perfectly hardy and healthy vines, and several of them have fruit for the first time this year. It upon any one of these I find all the desired qualities in the fruit, it will be a success; but so many requisites are to be united that the chances are against it; for we want, in addition to the good qualities of the vine, fruit of good quality, good size, large cluster and healthy berry. Early maturity is desirable, but not indispensable, while we have such a vast and excellent grape region in the South.

To digress a little: I wish your correspondents at the South would give us more information about the vine there. I understand that vine-planting is in progress near Charlotte, N. C., in the valley of the Catawba river and the home of the Catawba grape. Is it subject to disease there, or what varieties do they find best there?

Has the foreign vine been tried upon the poor and dry land of the Carolinas or Georgia? What varieties have they there, and are those varieties subject to mildew or other disease? Whatever may be the success in obtaining a new and excellent grape by the large number of experimenters at the North, I believe all the pure and excellent wine ever produced in this country, UNADULTERATED with sugar, will be obtained far south of the present vineyards.

To recur to our subject: I am still crossing and planting, and following the teachings of former experiments in what I now cross. I have this year seedlings of three-fourths foreign "blood," and many grapes thus crossed now growing, which I hope to live to see fruit from.

GEORGE HASKELL.

Ipswich, Mass., Aug. 15, 1868.

I spent the winter of 1869 in the South. My views and opinions of matters in that section were contributed from time to time and published in the COUNTRY GENTLEMAN, and such portions of those communications as would probably be interesting at this time are inserted in this work:

EDITORS OF COUNTRY GENTLEMAN—A recent journey through the South has convinced me that that section presents much greater inducements to the emigrant than any part of the West or North-west. The soil generally is not so good as at the West, but there are large sections of the South of very good land, while its climate and variety of soil afford a much greater diversity of products, render the crops more certain, and diminish largely the necessity for winter forage; these, and its nearness to market or to sea transit, and its vast water power, scattered all through the region, give to the South capabilities and prospects much greater than the West possesses.

The land in the South varies more in price than it does in quality or value. In Maryland good land is held too high. In the Shenandoah Valley all land is held above its value in comparison with other sections of Virginia. Around Richmond, within twenty miles of the city, the land is offered low—very low; within eight miles of the city it can be bought at \$10 to \$25 per acre, including buildings. The buildings are only comfortable, and the estates are in bad condition by the operations of the armies. Some of the fields are broken and disfigured by breastworks, and on the south and east of the city, the fences are gone and most of the wood cut

off. The soil is not strong, though it seemed to yield fair crops of corn, wheat and clover, without much of any manure. This low price results mainly from the depression of business and necessities of the owners—the war evidently having left Virginians in the worst plight. The cheaper lands of Hanover county are not worth the attention of buyers. Beautiful estates, with fertile soil and good buildings, on the high banks of the Chickahominy, within ten miles of Richmond, can be bought for the same prices. Northern men would be liable to chills and fever here, but not more so than on the banks of western rivers, while they could start here with a good and well prepared habitation, which has been occupied for generations by some of the best families in Virginia. Large estates of fertile land near the line of the Danville Railroad, and from 80 to 120 from Richmond, with a soil adapted to the growth of tobacco and wheat, about one-third cleared, and the residue in a heavy growth of oak and pine, and with rather poor buildings, can be bought at \$6 to \$20 per acre. All through this section farmers stated that tobacco was their best crop; that it required a great deal of attention and labor, but it brought in “a heap of money.” They send their crops—corn, wheat and tobacco, to Richmond by railroad, and go there in person to sell it, or to attend to the sale of it by agents there. As a general thing the buildings on farms and plantations here are poor—very poor when compared with the homes of the north, but they are better than most of the new homes of the farmers at the west. Here, when the owner was wealthy and spent the summer months on his country estate, he seems not to have had any pride about his house or made any effort at display. On larger estates which the owner made his permanent home, there are good and stately mansions, and for these the price is not much higher per acre, but the investment would be larger and buyers are not numerous.

In North Carolina, south of the valley of the Dan river, the soil is poorer. In that valley more of the land is cleared, the soil is good, and the surface is quite level; the estates are large, but the owners appear to lack capital or enterprise, and the land does not appear to have had its capabilities tested. Around Greensboro', and south as far as Lexington, land is cheap, and generally poor, and the country uninviting. Around Lexington the soil is better, and wheat appeared to be the principal crop, and looked finely. In travelling thousands of miles through the South, I did not see so

much nor so good wheat anywhere else south of Virginia, as near Lexington. South of this place the land improves. It is excellent near Concord, and is very good in the vicinity of Charlotte and as far south as Winnsboro', S. C. It is held at \$8 to \$20 per acre, according to the quality, extent of it cleared, condition of buildings, etc. From the latter place to Columbia, the soil is poorer, being gravelly, sandy or broken in surface. At Winnsboro' and from that place southward, plowing for cotton was in progress and peaches were in bloom on the 24th of February. That town was burnt by Sherman's army and the ruins still remain; and almost every farm-house, between that place and Chester, was burnt on their march, the chimneys of which were seen standing in beautiful groves all along the route. The strategical necessity, or advantage even, of this destruction of isolated farmers' houses is beyond the ken of a civilian.

South of Columbia, on the Ridge road to Edgefield Court-House, the country is delightful. It is high above miasma, the watershed between the Edisto and Saluda rivers. The land is level or slightly rolling, much of it cleared, with a fertile soil, and with an atmosphere that is "meat and drink." In these respects it presented the most desirable situation for an ANNUAL home that I saw in all my journey. The railroad from Columbia to Augusta, just completed, and which is an important link in the line from the north to south-west, has opened several depots on this route. I do not know the price of land in this section. It is generally held in large estates, many of the cotton fields, which are level and very large, appear to have been unplanted for several years; and I think will be for years to come unless they are sold to men who will work them under new methods of labor, or unless the scattered negroes can be induced to leave the towns and resume their labor in the rural districts, which they now seem unwilling to do.

Ipswich, Mass.

GEORGE HASKELL.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE COUNTRY GENTLEMAN:

Near Augusta, Ga., there is much excellent land on the "high bottoms." The hills and high lands west of the city are sandy and poor. Most of the farming land in this vicinity can be bought at fair prices—some of the best of it, within one mile of the city, for \$75 per acre; and from that the prices range down to \$15 per acre, according to the quality, buildings and distance from the city.

Going south from Augusta to Savannah, the soil is good, but much of it uncleared, until we leave the valley of the Savannah and enter Burke county. Much of the soil in this county is good red-clay land, and rolling, and no evident causes of disease were seen; but an old resident of the county said he had known every part of it for twenty years—that much of the soil was good and the planters wealthy, but if there was a healthy spot in the county he had never found it. In the country south of Burke, and between the Savannah and Ogeechee rivers, I saw some fine cattle and more neat stock than was seen any where else south of Pennsylvania. For the successful raising of stock and production of beef, they need here, and through the South, a grass or perennial forage plant adapted to their soil and climate. They also need more effectual protection from thieving negroes, as it is almost impossible to preserve domestic animals in the present condition of things.

Below Burke, on the line of the railroad, the country is level, mostly wooded, and much of it subject to overflow from the Ogeechee. The soil is generally sandy, but there are large tracts of strong oak land. That are but few settlements or villages, but these look pleasant in mid-winter, with their native evergreens and peach and red-bud in full bloom. But for the prevalence of miasma, it would be a paradise in the summer. This pestilence renders the tide-water section of Georgia of little agricultural value, except the rice fields, and I doubt if they are ever cultivated much by voluntary labor. In the winter this region is much more agreeable to the invalid or the healthy, than Florida. The atmosphere here is dryer and more bland; it has neither the moisture nor the RAWNESS which the Atlantic and St. John's river impart to the air in Florida. There is also a better soil here to furnish a surrounding vegetation of beauty and life-giving oxygen. If Fashion would only light and hold her court here, sojourners would soon find winter more comfortable here than in the cold and bleakness of Aiken or in the variability and vapors of Florida.

I do not desire to say much about Florida, except to advise the agriculturist not to go there. Large portions of the State (probably nine-tenths) are sandy wastes. Oranges, sugar and cotton are the only GENERAL crops grown there, (and oranges and sugar are grown with certainty only in the southern parts of it,) and neither of the three can be grown without manure, except upon the rich hummock land; and none of this land is exempt from congestive

chills and billious fever. This ought to settle the matter, but there are other reasons. These hummocks constitute but a small part of the State, and it is a work of great labor and expense to clear them; and when cleared and ready for the plow, they are neither given away nor sold for a song. To succeed with these crops, the farmer would expect to have to attend to them in person through the summer, and very few men from the north could endure that climate through the whole year. Besides, cotton can be grown in a healthier region just as well, and with more profit, except Sea Island cotton; and the most extensive planters of that, in Alachua County, are abandoning it, finding the short staple more profitable even at the lower price. The Sea Island cotton has to be planted farther apart, matures less bolls, yields less to the acre, and much less lint to the seed cotton—rather less than one-fifth. Oranges there are large and good, but they are a precarious crop; must be sold at once, for they cannot be kept long, and fluctuate much in price—they having been sold during the last month for 15 cents per dozen in Boston, while \$1 per dozen was asked for them in Jacksonville. As for sugar, if a northern farmer wishes to engage in sugar planting, he had better go to Louisiana, where he will find a more suitable soil and climate, a nearer market, and will run no greater risk of health or life.

On the sea-board route through North Carolina the soil is not so poor as generally described. Much of the region is sandy, but there are large tracts of excellent land were they cleared of wood and freed from water. There is also much excellent timber—cucumber and pine—by the side of the railroad, within fifty miles of navigation at Wilmington, which ought to be worth much more than would probably be asked for the land. The pines were not large, but very tall and straight and suitable for spars.

The tide-water region of South Carolina is much better than the similar regions of North Carolina and Georgia. Much of it below Sumpterville is excellent. There are tracts there of thousands of acres of rolling land, with a strong soil, on which a vigorous growth of oak succeeds, and in some instances supplants the pine. There are also large cotton fields fertile and very level, now neglected, however, and overrun with sedge. Around Sumpterville the country is pleasant and very productive of cotton. Beyond Kingsville the land was more uneven—more of it cleared and rather lighter in color and texture, yet good cotton land, and I should

think more healthy, especially near Orangeburgh.

On the whole, it may be said of this tide-water region, from the Potomac to St. Marys, that it contains an immense area of land of great agricultural productiveness and value, if it were only worked by a race that could endure the climate and that would persist in their labor. The white race can never be healthy there—certainly not until the forests and stagnant waters are removed; and the black race cannot be induced to labor for the future or beyond its immediate necessities. And unless the mongol or yellow race can be located there, with their persistent industry and constitutional hardihood against all climatic influences, much of this region seems doomed to remain a pestilential wilderness.

Ipswich Mass.

GEORGE HASKELL.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE COUNTRY GENTLEMAN:

A careful observer, who travels through the South in its present condition, sees at once that uniform prosperity there would be secured by a greater diversity of pursuits, and that agricultural industry would be more remunerative in the long run by cultivating a greater variety of products. Cotton, however, is king there yet—there is no mistake about that—in both an agricultural and commercial aspect. The high price obtained for the last crop has encouraged planters to prepare for extensive planting this season, and the profits are therefore likely to be smaller, on a much larger outlay and crop. They would be safer to diversify their products, and yet they declare they want no better crop than cotton. It certainly is an easy crop to raise, handle and sell in large quantities, nor does it seem to be exhausting to the land. Generally the land is planted alternately in corn and cotton. It is plowed quite shallow for cotton—hardly ever with more than one mule or horse for a team, and women as well as men for plowmen, who always guide the team also. The season for this operation extends through several weeks, and one hand can plow a large field.

The cotton seed of one year, after having been “sweat” to destroy its vitality, is returned to the soil as manure on the corn crop the next year, so that the cotton crop takes nothing from the land but the lint, and as that is almost pure carbon, the drain upon the fertility of the land must be small.

Since freeing the blacks, however, land has had less productive value, and labor has a value appreciable in money; and planters

find that their expenditure on the crop gives a better return when a part of it is invested in manure than when wholly paid for labor in obtaining the same crop from more acres. Consequently guano, superphosphates and commercial fertilizers are used in very large quantities. Indeed, train after train from the coast arrives at Augusta daily, a large part of the burden of which consists of such manures. The yield of cotton per hand is from 3 to 10 bales—or from 12 to 14 cwt.—according to the season, soil and their industry, with a little extra help in picking time. I found that the different modes of employing freedmen yielded very different results. Employing them for wages in money had been disastrous to both freedmen and planter. One who gave men \$125 per season, and women (field hands) \$65 to \$80, lost \$3000 in 1867 and did not work his plantation at all in 1868. In addition to these wages, the freedmen had the use of cabins, a potato and garden patch, and the opportunity to keep pigs and fowls. They desired to draw all their wages before the crop was half grown, and no urging or encouragement could make them anything but the meanest eye-servants. Others have given one-third the crop—the owner finding teams, tools and seed, and advancing supplies on account as the laborers needed. Only a few laborers under this mode are patient enough to wait for their full pay until the crop is sold, or even harvested; most of them would eat up their share long before harvest if they could get it, and if they got it, or if by unfavorable weather the prospect of a suitable remuneration was destroyed or dimmed, they were easily disheartened and abandoned the crop altogether. Some, however, who were industrious and persevering have done very well under this plan of sharing the crop. Another and a better plan had been adopted by some planters, and that was to accept a certain amount of lint cotton for each field hand that worked the land, the owner finding nothing but the cabins, garden patch and cotton fields; hands to assist in picking were not counted. This plan is less troublesome to the owner; it attracts the most capable, shrewd and industrious of the freedmen; indeed it is really open to those only who have means or credit enough to provide the team, tools, supplies, etc. The freedmen on one plantation in Florida, who delivered to the owner 200 lbs. of lint cotton for each farm hand, under such agreement, made quite a little fortune for themselves by the amount they raised in excess of that “toll” last year. The share of the owner must have been less than one-

eighth, but it was so much NET.

I sought every opportunity to gather information as to the practicability of raising in the South two articles of food for which I believe that region to be peculiarly well adapted by both soil and climate, *i. e.*, beef and wine.

It is really a cause of astonishment that in that mild climate, and with a soil better than that of New England, all the unplowed land is so bare and brown in the winter months. There is nothing on such land for the food of stock but brush, dry sedge, and a dry and wiry straw of the native grass; while here in Massachusetts our grass land would furnish, all through our severe winters, a good bite of green grass among the old fog, if we would only let our animals have it.

In the South cattle need no housing, nor would they need any other food all the year round, if that section had a grass or forage plant that would grow under the same conditions there as the cultivated grasses grow under here. Such a plant would enable them to make a large income, from land now useless, in the production of beef. There is enough of such land there, not used or needed for other crops, to feed millions of head of cattle, and beef could be easily and cheaply produced there in unlimited quantities, could the land be covered with perennial herbage. I inquired all the way for the *Lespedeza*, a plant about which so much has been said lately, but I could not find it, nor did I meet an individual who was sure he had ever seen it, though a few described plants which they had seen and which they supposed to be the one I inquired for. A perennial forage plant adapted to their soil and climate, is the first great necessity of that section. The discovery and introduction of such a plant would be of incalculable benefit to the South and the nation. And if the Agricultural Department at Washington would give its attention to matters of this nature, instead of spending its means and labors in propagating *ROSES* and *GERANIUMS* for distribution among the members of Congress, it would really be of some service to the agricultural interests of the nation.

Ipswich, Mass.

GEORGE HASKELL.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE COUNTRY GENTLEMAN:

At every resting place in my journey, I made it a point to inquire in regard to experiments or success in grape growing; and was surprised to find how little was known or done about it, and how

rarely they were grown for table or family use. And yet large tracts of land in every southern State appeared to be adapted to the vine. In several parts of Maryland and especially just north of Beltsville, and also through the upper portion of the southern States, I found locations and soils where the vigorous and obtrusive growth of the wild raspberry and high blackberry give the surest indications of a soil adapted to the vine. But I could not learn of any extensive or thorough experiment in its cultivation, except at a very few points, and these did not include the foreign or new native varieties.

I do not see why the foreign vine will not grow in the high, dry and sandy land south and west of Augusta, Georgia, as well as it does in the sandy plains in the south of Spain. There is no condition there to favor mildew. The summer is long enough to ripen the fruit, and the winter is not cold enough to kill the vine. If any other obstacle to its culture exists, it is unknown to me. A few vineyards, however, have been planted in the South; the largest which I saw was that of Mr. Derby at Aiken, S.C. Most of the fruit is shipped to New York, but some wine is made. The Isabella and Scuppernong are the principal varieties, and I understand that the foreign varieties had not been thoroughly tried there. At Mullins' Station, between Wilmington and Florence, we passed the vineyard of Dr. Vamphill. It is in a locality very favorable for mildew, surrounded by a wooded country, and with a moist, slate-colored bog soil. His wine house is close to the station, and a lad offered his wine for sale in the cars for a dollar a bottle—a dozen or more of bottles were thus purchased, some of the Scuppernong and some of the Concord. I supposed from this that these were the varieties planted in this vineyard, and certainly the soil and locality were congenial to the Fox grape. A careful, repeated and JOLLY testing of the two wines, and of the various bottles to see if they were of uniform quality, and perhaps to get another taste, led to the unanimous decision that the Concord was the best. This was a mixed company—six or eight from Massachusetts, about as many from New York and Pennsylvania, a few Southerners and two Germans, and it ought to be accepted, I think, that, if the two grapes were treated alike, the Concord makes the best wine. I did not call the wine good except under the circumstances—it was "Hobson's choice" to a thirsty man. There was evidently a flavor of sugar which I think had been added to both, though the distinctive flavor

and harshness of the grape was quite too predominant.

I found but little effort or interest in the experimental culture of the grape among the officials who run the MACHINERY of the Agricultural Department at Washington. Several propagating houses were in full blast in mid-winter, at great expense, filled with geraniums, roses, verbenas, etc., etc., and I did not see a grape in one of them. Large plans have been laid for planting out every variety of well known forest trees; but there was little room or opportunity for testing new varieties of grapes. Few vines are grown under the attentive care of the Department, and no information for the public in this matter can be expected from that quarter.

At Richmond there is a wine company, and several very intelligent and zealous men engaged in the introducing and extending the culture of the grape. Some quite good wine is made there from Norton's Virginia, but there are some objections to that variety, it having a small cluster and not being very productive. The Isabella and Catawba both blight or mildew there, and the Concord was esteemed the best grape, all things considered. The fruit is much better than at the North, and requires their long summer to mature in. A similar opinion was expressed in Florida—that the Concord was the best grape there, because it was the only one that could be relied upon. All through the South, however, the people speak of the Scuppernong as a good grape. Yet they all say that it has a hard and sour pulp; that it has a fox or musky flavor; that it has but few berries in a cluster and they drop easily when ripe, and that it is found through all the swamps of the South. It is clear that the Scuppernong thus spoken of, is not the same vine—the progeny of a particular plant; but that all through the South they call the amber colored wild grape the Scuppernong. It is better or more pleasant than the black varieties of the same grape, and is therefore called good by the people there who know of none better.

I am certain that this name is applied to a great number of grapes of similar color and character, and I think they are only a southern variety or modification of the Fox, although the wood differs considerably from that species of the north. It has no qualities to recommend it for general culture; and the grape that will meet the requirements of cultivators, either for fruit or wine, and that will succeed in this genial climate, will yet be obtained or found. The agricultural emigrants from the north, who have cultivated a few vines successfully under the many obstacles which exist in

their old home, and who are now moving south, will soon test the practicability of growing them in that more congenial soil and climate, and will find or originate varieties which will succeed there, and which will supply us of the north, before many years, with a fruit and wine better and cheaper than there can ever be produced in the Northern States.

In furnishing these articles for your paper, my only object is to give the reader some of the information I gathered in this journey. I have no desire to advance the interests of one place or to decry another. The facts I state ARE FACTS—the opinions are mere opinions, and are subject to criticism. I shall not therefore offer any reply to the communication of A. F. S. except to say; that I have not misrepresented Florida, either ignorantly or willfully. I advised the agriculturist not to go to Florida: He says: "To any one wishing to engage wholly in agricultural pursuits, there are many sections presenting greater inducements." In this conclusion we agree, and the readers of your paper have our concurrent opinion in the matter for what it is worth. He dissents from my reasons, but as he agrees with me in the conclusions at which I arrived, I shall not occupy your valuable space with any unnecessary criticism or response.

GEORGE HASKELL.

Ipswich, Mass., 1869.

After my return from the South in 1869, I concluded my life would be most comfortable in the region of my birth, and I went to work renewedly on my seedling grapes and for the improvement of my land, and in writing many communications to the papers on agricultural and other topics of general interest, many of which appear in this work.

I served in the legislature in 1876, and have held no similar public position since.

In 1871 I furnished the COUNTRY GENTLEMAN with an account of the influence each species of the grape had had upon the other when crossed, so far as then observed, as follows:

EDITORS COUNTRY GENTLEMAN—You have published a statement of some of the results of crossing the grape by Dr. Wyllie of South Carolina, and perhaps you will be pleased to hear of some of

the strange effects of that process which I have observed in my experiments.

I have crossed the Pigeon with Black Hamburg, White Frontignan and Grizzley Frontignan, and hundreds of such hybrids have borne fruit, and all such fruit is black; not one vine having a white or even a red or purple berry, and not one of them is good for anything. The vines are very hardy and healthy; the fruit on some is larger and rather better than the Pigeon, and with large and handsome clusters, but is too sour and austere to be of any value. And the result has been nearly the same whether the native were used as the staminate or pistillate parent.

I have never been able to obtain a white hybrid. I have crossed the White Frontignan and White Chasselas with a White Fox of this vicinity, which never acquires a blush, but all the progeny of their crosses have been light amber or red—none white or black.

Several crosses, in both directions, with these two white foreign grapes, and selected varieties of Amber Fox, have shown the same result—not one white, and only one black grape among nearly a hundred that have borne fruit. A few are light amber, but most are of a rich, deep red. Of the crosses with the Black Hamburg and Black Fox, all have borne black fruit; while the crosses with that foreign grape and the Amber Fox have all borne red or purple fruit, both when the Hamburg was the staminate and when the pistillate parent.

The best fruits of the Pigeon crosses have been obtained with Hamburg, and the best of Fox crosses have been with the White Frontignan. Not one of the White Chasselas and Fox crosses has much sweetness or flavor.

The effect of crosses upon the fertility of the offspring, has been most marked and surprising. Of one cross, twenty-one have bloomed and every one has been fertile, having perfect flowers; of another, ten have bloomed and are all fertile; and of another, twenty-seven have bloomed, and twenty-one are fertile and six infertile; while of other crosses, eleven of one cross have bloomed, and nine were infertile and only two fertile; and of another, sixteen have bloomed—ten infertile and six fertile. Of several crosses, having a less number of vines, all are fertile, but of no one cross have all been infertile. The tendency of crossing is thus seen to insure a larger proportion of fertile plants among the seedlings, for the pure native seed rarely yields half-fertile plants.

I have had better success in crossing some varieties than with others, but have always been able to obtain some seedlings from every cross between the foreign and native; but I have not been so successful when I have attempted to use the half-bloods for one parent. In several instances, though the half-blood was fertile of itself, I have failed to impregnate another half-blood or native, while I have succeeded with the same half-blood upon the foreign.

I am not ready to propound any theory in explanation of these facts. The facts themselves perplex me some, but I think I see the GENERAL influence of each parent and each species upon the other, to guide me in future crossings, in seeking particular results. My crosses now number fifty-seven, and are so mixed up in blood—half-bloods with each other and with the foreign and with the native—that I expect the developments of a few years will compensate me for my care and labor.

I think there is a LAW in this, as in every other process of nature and that if that law can be discovered, this process will be subservient to the will and direction of man, and will contribute essentially to the improvement of the productions of the soil, and thus to the enjoyment and comfort of mankind.

Essex Co., Mass., Dec. 19, 1871.

GEORGE HASKELL.

In 1875, after laboring for fifteen years in crossing the vine, I found that many of my hybrids, that were most promising in vine, would not ripen their fruit here in the open air. To ascertain the quality of the fruit of such vines, I built another grape house, 100 feet long, 15 feet wide, of double span and planted such vines six feet apart under the sashes, on each side, several of which have borne and are still bearing quite good grapes for home use, but they will not succeed in the open air, being subject to mildew. Most of these hybrids, however, bore undesirable fruit, even when well ripened.

Expecting this result, and not being willing to lose the use of the house altogether while this trial was pending, I planted foreign vines of good varieties midway between these hybrids, intending to inarch these latter upon the worthless hybrids. This was done with good success, and although

most of these foreign vines have died at the root, the part of the same vine above the point of union is still alive and productive. I found it essential in this form of engrafting as well as that by the cleft method to bind the stock and scion together very firmly, especially at the lower end of the scion, for it is at that point that the union of the wood of the stock and scion takes place, and not at the crown of the stock, as with other fruits.

In cleft grafting I found it necessary to do it close to the root, IN THE WOOD of the stock, and not in the root,

Having tried the quality by ripening them in a climate like that of 40° by growing under glass, in 1877 I published a pamphlet giving an account of my efforts to find or obtain a better grape and containing an account of my experiments in crossing the foreign and native species, and a description of forty varieties thus obtained, giving their parentage, size, form, color and quantities.

Several of these varieties were found to yield really excellent fruit, but were so subject to mildew that they were not worthy of preservation or propagation; others, although healthy and hardy in vine, bore fruit of no value. A few of the best varieties have been preserved and are grown under glass.

They were sent in numbers all over the country. None of them had such decided excellencies as to commend them for general cultivation, although many of them are quite as good, and some, perhaps, better, than most of those which have been widely boomed on the public during the last twenty years, but I had neither the desire nor the qualifications for such a content to impose upon the public.

So far as immediate or present results are considered, I regard these efforts as a failure. But I have learnt much of the influence of different species upon each other under this process.

I have found a great difference in the power or habit of individual vines of the same cross to transmit a valuable quality it may possess to its progeny. Some hybrids of either sex will give to its progeny a peculiar quality, good or bad, generally, if not with constant uniformity, while in other instances the trait of the offspring will be diversified in almost every individual.

This is very strongly marked when different species are crossed; for instance one or a few vines of a cross will impart its quality of healthiness and hardihood to its progeny with decided constancy, while others of the same cross, and equally as good will not produce one hardy vine among a large number of its seedlings.

There are serious difficulties to be overcome:

FIRST—But a small part of the high grade hybrids will be entirely free from mildew and no others should be employed.

SECOND—But few among many such healthy hybrids have the power or habit of transmitting that continuous exemption from mildew: many such hybrids, entirely free from mildew fail to yield healthy progeny, especially when crossed again with foreign.

THIRD—The great length of time required to conduct such a course of breeding of the two species, five years, and perhaps more must pass before the result of each successive cross can be ascertained, and the life of one individual is hardly sufficient to complete the work.

By patient, skillful and persistent labor I have no doubt the delicious grapes of the old world can be naturalized to our soil and climate so that new varieties adapted to the various sections can be grown in every part of our country.

I think this knowledge, and selection of parents under its guidance, will enable me hereafter to obtain such a grape or grapes as this country needs.

The need of such grapes and the probability of obtaining such by this process, and the slow and careful observation and labor by me to obtain it, was stated in the following article from the COUNTRY GENTLEMAN :

EDITORS COUNTRY GENTLEMAN—I suppose there is no society or body of men in this country more competent than the Western New York Horticultural Society, to decide upon the merits of the grapes now in cultivation in the country; and it appears from the discussion in that society, published in your paper last winter, that its members did not agree that any one grape, except the Concord, could be regarded as a good grape to grow for the market, though no objection was made to the suggestion of one member, that the Catawba vine did well, but its fruit did not ripen; yet it sold well, even when unripe.

It was certainly discouraging to be told that we could have nothing better than Concords or unripe Catawbas! But in the report of J. S. Patterson, in your paper of March 6th, we are told that these two select varieties are good for nothing—really worse than none—on the lake shore, as they were subject to rot and mildew, and communicated these diseases to other and healthier varieties of the grape. Many millions of dollars are sent abroad every year to pay for the products of the vines imported for our use. Our country is capable, both in its soil and climate, of yielding the most abundant crops of fruit and wine, if only varieties of grapes could be obtained of good quality, and that could resist the attacks of fungoid enemies as well as our wild native vines will stand them.

Under these conditions, it is not strange that our national government has done so little to obtain such desirable varieties? It may have spent a few hundred dollars for new varieties, and have sent them to different parts of the country, to individuals named by Members of Congress, (who have probably received, as the donors, some active support at the elections), rather than to zealous horticulturists, and nothing is ever heard of the vine or fruit. It may be that none of the varieties thus purchased proved worthy of propagation and general distribution; but if only one of them were found desirable in any part of the country, it would be a long time, under this method, before the public would hear of it.

It may be asked what the government could have done more. I

answer, much; it could have started upon a systematic course of planting for the production of new varieties. It ought to be borne in mind that the choice grapes we now have (under glass), have been selected from chance seedlings produced in various countries of Europe and Asia during a period of more than four thousand years, while many millions of seedlings inferior to these have been allowed to perish. If the people of our country could afford to wait for that long time, possibly there might be found some accidental seedlings of our native species as good as those selected by the ancient Persians; but in the meantime, more than one hundred generations of mankind would have made their journey on the earth without the comfort or enjoyment of such a fruit.

Surely, the nation ought not to wait so long for doubtful success, when there is a shorter and more certain way to accomplish the desired end. I think that way is by planting the seed by millions, and crossing, and especially by crossing the native species with the foreign. At one time it was seriously stated that it was not possible to cross these species, but no one can doubt it now. The fruits produced by Dr. Wylie, my neighbor Rogers, Mr. Moore and others, show conclusively that it has been done. I will say nothing now of my own labors in this matter, except to tell your readers that more than twenty years ago, in August, 1863, you published an account of my experiments and expectations in crossing grapes, and that every year since that time I have planted the seeds of new crosses, and had new hybrids coming into fruit. The result of all this labor will be ascertained in the future.

It may be true that not one of the hybrids yet produced has all the qualities of vine and fruit that we desire or need. But certain it is that among these hybrids we get some perfectly healthy and hardy vines, and some vines yielding excellent fruit; so far, I have never seen these desirable qualities of fruit and vine united in the same plant. I have no doubt, however, that such a union of these desirable qualities can be obtained by continual re-crossing, if done with proper intelligence in selecting the vines to be thus used.

Such work requires time, and many years, if several successive re-crossings are undertaken. A few of the seedlings will bloom in the third year, but generally not until the fifth or sixth year, and some not until the tenth year, or even later. And then at least one-half are found to be infertile, and therefore worthless; and no

opinion can be safely formed of those that bear until three or four years later, as the fruit improves much in quality, earliness and size for several years--the berries and clusters often being four times as large in the fifth year as they were in the first. Those that are tender or subject to disease, will generally die during this period, and perhaps not one of those that survive will be good enough in quality to save.

It thus takes eight to ten years to ascertain the effect to each cross, and if several re-crossings are to be made, an ordinary lifetime is sufficient to accomplish it. If, however, one single vine, having all the desired qualities, should be obtained a century sooner than it would otherwise have been, it would be well worth all the labor and all the cost.

GEORGE HASKELL.

Ipwich, Mass., Aug. 26, 1884.

In 1879 I built a barn on the south side of the road to the beach, on the place of one burnt a year before.

In 1882 I built the house in which I live, nearly opposite the barn, on that legendary spot—"Heartbreak Hill." During this year my eyesight failed, from some cause which the Occulists could not discover or explain, and for which they could not give me any relief, except by the use of lenses of the greatest power—1¼ inch 30 dioptrics, and I am still unable to read or write, except by the use of such aid for a short time, at intervals.

In 1883 the last article which I contributed to the COUNTRY GENTLEMAN on the subject of crossing the grape for the production of the desired variety was published, and as it may be useful to others who are engaged in similar experiments, I think it worth while to insert here :

EDITORS COUNTRY GENTLEMAN—In September, 1863, you published an account of my experiments in crossing the grape, and two or three times since then I have sent to you an account of my efforts. I have not said a word through your columns about my grapes for several years past, for various reasons; principally, because I feared you would think I was seeking thus to advertise them. I also thought your readers would suspect that I was thus seeking notoriety rather than to give desired information. Indeed,

the public have been so much imposed upon by nurserymen during the last ten years, with worthless and untried plants, that I have been almost ashamed to speak of my vines, or offer them for sale, lest I should be suspected of repeating the offence. But with my knowledge of the matter, obtained by careful and constant observation for many years, it would be wrong—morally wrong—for me to permit the statements of Mr. Anderson, on page 635, to pass without contradiction; for, if what he says is correct, we, who have been crossing and recommending hybrids, are very stupid or very knavish.

He states that "not a single variety that is known to be related in any degree to a foreign kind has ever succeeded in this climate;" and he makes this statement, probably, without having tried or seen one-half of the hybrids now growing in the country. If by this statement he means to say that no such vine will endure our climate, the statement is wholly unfounded. It is of very little consequence what Mr. Longworth or any one else said twenty years ago about the theory of this process. The possibility of crossing was then denied by many, but we all know now that it can be done, and has been done repeatedly. I know there are now many such hybrids that endure the climate here perfectly, not suffering from mildew or winter-killing in this uncongenial section, where 20 below zero is not unusual. They are vines, too, raised from the seeds of the foreign grape cross-fertilized with the native, and must have obtained their hardiness from the native parent. So predominant is the influence of the native parent, that it has been more difficult to get good fruit than hardy vines. I think some of the so-called hybrids as only seedlings from the foreign grape, and no such vines can be made to live in this country, as was repeatedly proved more than twenty years ago.

As to some of the vines thus described, the originators may be mistaken, the cross not being effected. There are others that are covered every winter, and that are said to be produced from rare or unknown foreign varieties by a peculiar and secret process of hybridization. Such pretences are enough to excite distrust. But crossing is now done with certainty and success, although Mr. A. says "the story would not have been listened to twenty years ago."

He says "the efforts of late encourage the crossing of foreign grapes with our own natives, must result in a still greater decrease of grape-growing in this country." This is "begging" the whole question. If an improved fruit and vine were obtained by crossing,

it would increase grape-growing; if crossing debased the fruit or vine, it would discourage grape-growing. That is all that can be understandingly said about it. All through his article there is a very offensive implication that those who have engaged in crossing are attempting to cheat the public, for which assumption there is no warrant. He wishes the government or the Pomological Society would intervene to protect the community, by a trial of all new grapes. I wish somebody, competent and disinterested, would do this. I have been desirous to have my hybrids tried in other parts of the country. To secure such a trial as Mr. A. advises, I offered in your paper, three or four years ago, to give thirty or forty varieties of my seedlings to be placed in some central locality, side by side with the seedlings of Dr. Parker, Mr. Folsom, Mr. Prentiss, Mr. Ricketts, and others having new varieties competing for public approval, but no response was made to this proposal. To secure such a trial of these vines, I last spring offered to sell assortments of thirty varieties, at a price which would not have repaid me, had all my vines been sold, one-fourth of my money outlay in the matter.

To obtain such a trial in distant and more favorable parts of the country, and by the most competent horticulturists, this offer was sent to prominent nurserymen, to the Commissioner of Agriculture, and to all agricultural colleges. I thought the colleges were the best places to try the vines, and that they would be glad to do this, and that, perhaps, the Commissioner of Agriculture would purchase and supply them. But of these authorities only one agricultural college had sufficient enterprise or courage to buy and try the vines—a result so ludicrous as to give me more amusement than chagrin. Only a few assortments were sold. The nurserymen offered to buy a few vines of those kinds that Mr. Wilber and others have commended, but I was not willing to sell such alone, or to have them go into the propagation of the vines for sale until they had tried several kinds, and found which were best adapted to their respective sections. I have not offered my vines for sale except to such parties, and for the purpose of trial, nor to the public generally, until today, and by the advertisement sent herewith.* This surely, does not look like an attempt to impose upon the ignorant or credulous.

I suppose we shall hear next season about those sold in the South and West, and I have no doubt the report will be such as to satisfy the public, and perhaps Mr. A., that there has really been a great

improvement in the fruit without impairment of the vine by hybridization. Permit me to add that my experience strengthen my faith in the utility and ultimate success of this method of obtaining desired plants of ALL SPECIES. I am still crossing and planting the seeds of hybrids by thousands. The original vines were all left unprotected in the open air, exposed to all the vicissitudes of cold and wet in this region, as I depend upon the "survival" of the fittest. I have, however, a large cold-house for the trial of the fruit of such as I find too late to ripen here in the open air.

Ipswich, Mass.

GEORGE HASKELL,

In 1884 the 250th anniversary of the settlement of Ipswich was made the most important and largest festival ever held in the town, at which I was appointed President of the day. As that was the last occasion of my addressing the public, in opening of the exercises, I think it well to insert what I said, here, although it also appears in the detailed report of the proceedings on that occasion :

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Two hundred and fifty years ago this day, the Court of Assistants, which at that time constituted the government of the Massachusetts Colony, passed an order that "Agawam shall be called Ipswich;" and from that date and event we reckon our existence as a town. We have met today, in commemoration of that event, to refresh and strengthen the memory of the circumstances and the events attending the settlement of the town, and of the character and work of the men engaged in that undertaking. The beauty of this location and the fertility of the soil allured settlers here several years before the act of incorporation, and before any grant of land was made or authorized; for we find in the colonial records, as early as 1630,—on the 7th day of September, the same day on which it was ordered that "Trimountain should be called Boston,"—the Court of Assistants also issued an order "that a warrant shall be presently sent to Agawam to command those that are planted there forthwith to come away." Who were then planted here, and whether they left or not, are matters of uncertainty; but, a few years later, a number of the most prominent men of the Colony came to this town to reside. They had grants of land—house-lots, town-lots, as they were called—for the erection of residences, planting-lots of about six acres

near by, and a larger extent of agricultural or farming land farther away. Several of them built residences in the town; but, after the lapse of a few years, some of them removed from the town, and sold their land here. A few, however, who moved away, retained their lands, which have descended to some branch of their families, and are held today, in many instances, by descendants of the first grantee. Those who remained here gave their attention to the cultivation of the soil, and agriculture became, and for two hundred years continued to be, the principal business of the town. These early settlers were men of good education, for that period. They knew the value of education, and at once provided for the instruction of their children. They understood their rights, and were among the first in the country to assert their rights against the encroachments of the crown. They comprehended their duties as citizens, and no interest of church or town suffered by their neglect. They recognized their obligations to a rightful government, and met all the requisitions upon them for men and means which the exigencies of the Colony often made necessary. Living upon their lands, they were in a measure secluded from much of the rest of the busy world; but upon those estates they enjoyed all the highest blessings of human life,—health, peace, plenty, and contentment. But such quiet lives were not adapted to all times and to all temperaments; and many young men of every generation, natives of the town, moved away in quest of fame or fortune. We have no reason to complain of their departure. They generally bore with them cultivated intellects and good morals; and many of them became centres of widespread and beneficial influence in their new homes, and thus brought honor upon their native town. The people of this town have always felt much interest in those families that have moved from them, and have taken pride in the prominence they have attained in the business and professional circles of larger communities; and we are glad, very glad, to meet on this occasion representatives of so many of those families that moved from our borders in earlier or in later times. We trust they will find in the incidents of this day—in what they shall see and hear of the town, its origin and progress, its people, its natural beauties and institutions—something to increase and strengthen their interest in the town, in its history and future. It is one of the peculiar advantages of a celebration of this kind, that it calls these wanderers home; that it strengthens and quickens the memories that cluster around the home of their child-

hood; that it excites an interest in the localities and scenes in which their ancestors lived and labored, and strengthens their affection for their native land. Love of home begets love of country; and it is well, by such a celebration as this, to strengthen the attachment of every son and daughter of the land to their old ancestral home; so that, wherever they may wander over the earth, they will turn to it with fond recollection, and come back to it in after-life to revive the memories of the past, and to renew the associations and ties of their childhood and youth.

During the long existence of the town, and since many of these families moved from her borders, there have, of course, been some changes here; but much remains as it was in the times of our ancestors. Enough remains unchanged, we think, to make the town interesting to their descendants. Many of these dwellings they built and occupied. The fields they planted and tilled are all around us. Their graves are here. Sires and sons of successive generations rest on yonder hillside. We walk today in the paths our fathers trod; we drink at the fountains from which they drank; we gather around the hearthstones which they laid; and Nature here wears her primitive beauty still, unspolled by the hands of man. From these surrounding hilltops we have the same grand and beautiful prospect which they beheld: on one side the ocean, always sublime, the islands, the long line of shore, and the distant headlands; on the other side a wide and varied prospect of hill and valley, field and forest, and the little streams glistening among the overhanging branches and tall groves,—a view which must have filled their hearts with gladness when they first looked upon it as their land of promise, and which is spread before our sight today as our inheritance from them.


From that time until now—for twelve years—I have lived in a very quiet and retired manner, giving my time and labor, so far as able, to the improvement of my grounds and the care of my orchards, and especially to the work of crossing and re-crossing the grape, and of planting a new lot of such seeds every year, still hoping and believing that in this manner, sooner or later, and probably after I am resting from my labor, new and better varieties of this delicious fruit will be obtained which can be grown with ease and success

in the soil and climate of every part of our country ; in this
hope and belief I have labored, content

“To let my life serenely glide
Thro’ silent scenes, obscurely calm,
Nor wealth, nor strife pollute the tide :”
* * * * *

“When labor tires or pleasure palls
Still shall the stream untroubled be,
Till down the steep of age it falls,
And mingles with eternity.”

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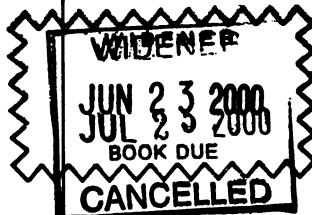
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